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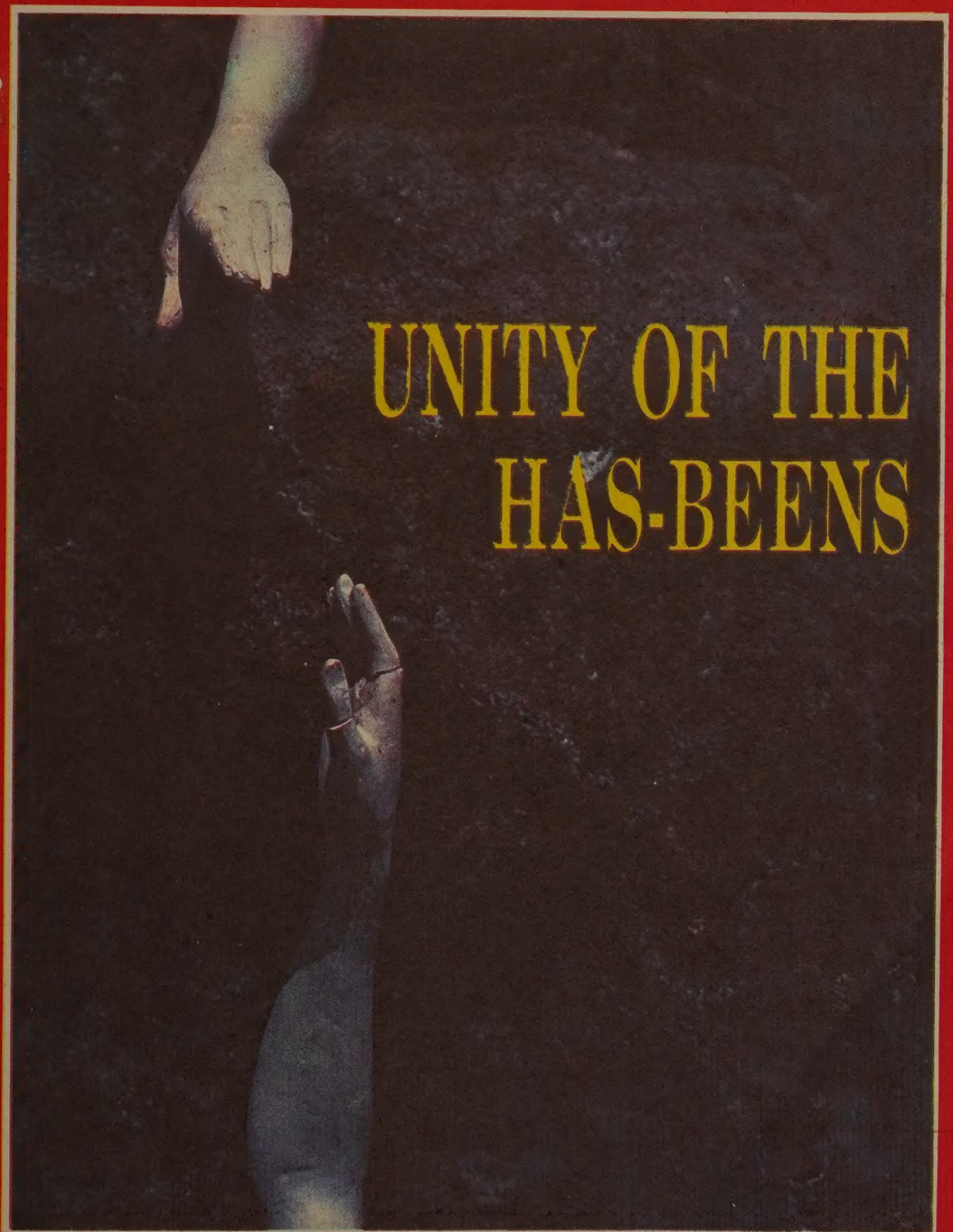

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A SOVIET WEEKLY

NEW TIMES

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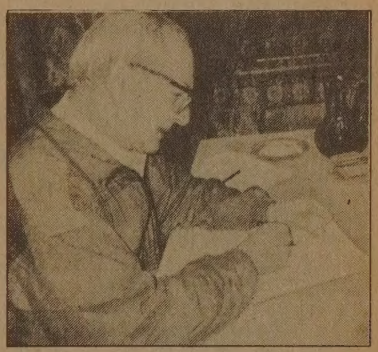

Honecker issued the order to shoot. Others are tried for this while he hides out in Moscow

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Cover by Victor Brel

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From our mailbag

■ When the Bourbons returned to France after a 20-year absence, Russian Tsar Alexander I said: they did not learn a thing and they did not forget a thing. Our native Bourbons, as can be seen from their "mandates" to the *Sovetskaya Rossiya* newspaper, seem to do better than their French predecessors. They have already forgotten everything (though the August events in this country occurred not 20 years ago); similarly, they are incapable of learning anything (contrary to the ardent appeals to that effect of their teacher). Though I have practically no ear for music, I realized that these voices are an attempt to burst into song. In a little while we will hear an ideally rehearsed chorus: "Stand for resolute measures! No step to the side is allowed..." So let the dear *Sovetskaya Rossiya* not hide behind pluralism – everything they are doing now would have grave consequences, even another State Emergency Committee and tanks on our streets.

V. Popruzhenko, worker
Kislovodsk, USSR

■ Having recently compared your issue No. 35, 1991, which struck me as being too hysterical and forcing certain ideas on readers, with the old *New Times* issues, which were published before *perestroika* and which contained a lot of diverse information, I felt somewhat uneasy. Even in 1989 your magazine was quite intelligent, without that streak of psychosis, and much more unbiased. It is always repulsive when one suddenly changes one's opinions. And that is what we are witnessing now: former "red" journalists become "white." But I can understand this in a way – we all must live somehow. That's why I will subscribe to *New Times* despite my meagre pension.

A. Orlova
Kirov Region, USSR

■ The report made by N.I. Kondratenko, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Krasnodar Territory Soviet of People's Deputies, turned out to be a surprise for many. The report is loaded with such words as national catastrophe, total crisis, lies, hypocrisy and six-year empty chatter. According to Kondratenko, it is Zionism that is to blame for all our troubles. It is Zionists, who call themselves democrats, that should be held responsible for the existing difficulties. While academicians are racking their brains seeking for ways to steer the country out of the crisis, Kondratenko has ready answers. Zionism is preparing a crime of the century, he holds, and our children's blood will be shed. As I read the report, I was thinking: where am I? For the whole thing is nothing but a fascist delirium.

Not long ago, nearby one of Sochi (Krasnodar Territory) newsstands, I happened to listen to the following conversation: an untidy elderly woman was telling a stranger some horrors about Jews. Having listened to the woman, the man asked her with disgust: "From what gateway have you crawled out, woman?" I want to ask Kondratenko the same question. His idea of fighting Zionism goes hand in hand with another one which is far more important for him: Russians who call themselves democ-

Kuwaiti Ambassador to the USSR: "Don't refer to Begin!"

■ Dmitry Zgersky's article "The legends of Zionism," published in *New Times* – the magazine we deeply respect – has the following reasoning: "Zionism has nothing in common with racism. The term 'Zionism' means Jews' yearning to assemble on sacred Mount Zion, a symbol of Israel. This is quite a natural desire of a nation to come together in its own state."

As a douaien of the Arab Ambassadors to the USSR and, moreover, as an Ambassador of the State of Kuwait, the country which sincerely believes in the righteousness of the Palestine cause and which taught us from our childhood to defend this lawful and just cause, I would like to emphasize that it is impossible to reach stability in the region unless the Palestine problem is resolved.

Nowadays the whole world has come to realize this reality. And none others than Palestinians, who have been driven out of their native lands, understand this to the full. The majority of them have been compelled to live for more than four decades in temporary refugee camps, the fact that prompted the UN to set up a special relief and works association for Palestine refugees.

With a heavy heart have I read that part of Zgersky's article (the author whom I know well and respect) where he writes about the massacre in Deir Yassin which, allegedly, turned out to be an "unprecedented...cruel provocation carried out by Arab soldiers." And the most distressing thing, unfortunately, is that the author refers to Menachem Begin, the former Prime Minister of Israel.

Menachem Begin's life story is well known. The British government has at its disposal an ample dossier on his terrorist activities. Begin had been sentenced to death by the British court during the time of the Deir Yassin massacre.

The author's references to Menachem Begin in connection with the Deir Yassin massacre are as inappropriate as would have been any references to Saddam Hussein while describing the similar butchery of the Kurds in Halabshi. In this context I would like to point out two moments.

First. There is no Arab now who would not recognize the existence of the State of Israel. That's why the author's statements to this effect have nothing in common with the real state of things.

At present, Arabs and Palestinians especially want one thing only – the fulfilment of UN resolutions on the

Our native Bourbons have learned nothing

Krasnodar ataman and a woman from the gateway

rats may also be Zionists. Note, he invents some new notion – Zionocrats, i.e., Zionists plus democrats. Setting masses against the Jews, Kondratenko then turns to democrats thus making it easier for himself to attack them. For the most regrettable thing for him is that the country is not any more ruled by the CPSU, the party which is losing its former power...

I am a teacher and have never been a party member. I am not interested in politics, but I cannot remain indifferent when people tell lies. The general public must recognize a "real hero of the day" when it meets one. That's why I am writing to you. Fascism, whatever forms it takes, should be exposed.

Kondratenko arrives at the conclusion that the fight against crime is, first of all, a struggle against democrats under the guise of fighting Zionism. As for robbers and bullies, they may be done away with some time later.

So much for a modern ataman's whims. No more, no less..

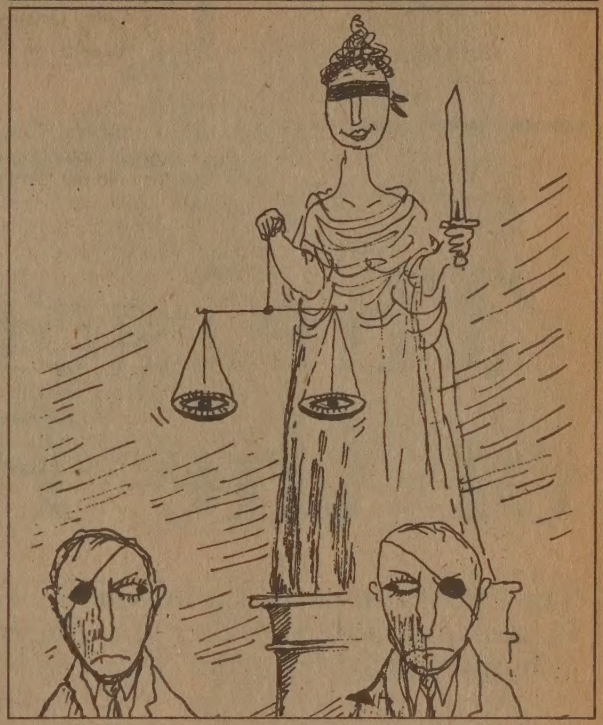
Natalia Maslova
Sochi, USSR

■ Hopes for unbiased information, with new TV leaders taking office, are vanishing. I was unpleasantly surprised when the TV programme *Vremya* broadcast just for a few seconds the visit to Canada of the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, whereas the talk with some USSR deputy from the Ukraine lasted as long as several minutes. This could not but testify to the fact that somebody was too willing to sow distrust and enmity between Russians and Ukrainians, and also to discredit the Act on Ukrainian independence. The biased TV information about events in the republic leads to dividing the peoples living on its territory. The attempts to set the peoples at loggerheads, to prevent the Ukraine from deciding its own affairs, including its possible entry into the Union, arouse nothing but bitterness. Nowhere else but in the Ukraine does the Supreme Soviet pay so much attention to upholding peace between the peoples.

Regrettably, the days immediately following the putsch are gone when we could avail ourselves of objective information. It seems, unfortunately, that central TV will once again become of a Kravchenko-type.

O. Skakun,
Professor
Kharkov, the Ukraine

THE WAY I SEE IT



Drawing by Victor Bogorad

■ Dear Editors,

New Times has started arriving to me again in bundles. All the spring copies arrived within a few days. Perhaps this is because of an abundance of paper again.

For this reason I refer to No. 11, 1991, March 19-25, and Lev Bezymensky's article "When secrecy pays."

I don't agree with him that it is good to sign some treaties in secrecy. Such is not good for democracy. There have been some other secret treaties made with Germany in the past – you remember? Should we thank Molotov for "sparing us the embarrassment which the ratification debate might have caused us if held in open session"?

Let the colonels of the military-political circles talk openly, otherwise they have good reason to take to different action, for not having the right to express their opinions.

Thank you for your magazine, however. It has been very interesting recently.

Sincerely yours,
Kari Tuomainen
Helsinki, Finland

Palestine problem (I refer to Resolutions No. 242 and 338). These international resolutions should be respected by and be binding for all sides. As a Kuwaiti citizen, I also had a chance to realize the importance of the problem, and I was extremely happy when the world community declared that all the sides were committed to carrying out resolutions on the freedom and independence of Kuwait from the Iraqi dictator.

The most pressing task today is to return all the Arab territories occupied in 1967 to their indigenous population, so that the people themselves can decide their future. This step should not be perceived as a threat to Israel's security, for it is common knowledge that the Palestinians, once having gotten the right to self-determination, would never threaten Israel (nobody doubts the fact that Israel's conjectures in this regard are nothing but a myth).

Second. Fully agreeing with the author in that an end should be put to all the actions aimed at instigating and fomenting the Arab-Israeli conflict, I cannot approve of the article precisely because it serves this very aim.

We must not forget that at the present moment we live in the Soviet Union, a great power which, I believe, would remain such under its leadership that has won respect all over the world.

Soviet mass media ought not to discuss matters in such a carefree and irresponsible manner. Mass media representatives should cover the on-going processes thoughtfully and objectively (this is especially important for those publications which support *perestroika*). It is not my personal wish, but an imperative dictated by your country's authority, by its responsibility for the preservation of peace and the survival of mankind. All the more so as the Soviet Union will soon be a co-chairman at an international peace conference to be held late this month.

It is crucially important to differentiate between the Palestine problem examined as a matter of principle and the approach to it on the part of some politicians who interpret the problem relying on their very few associates.

I would like you to publish my letter in your magazine and send my best wishes to Mr Zgersky.

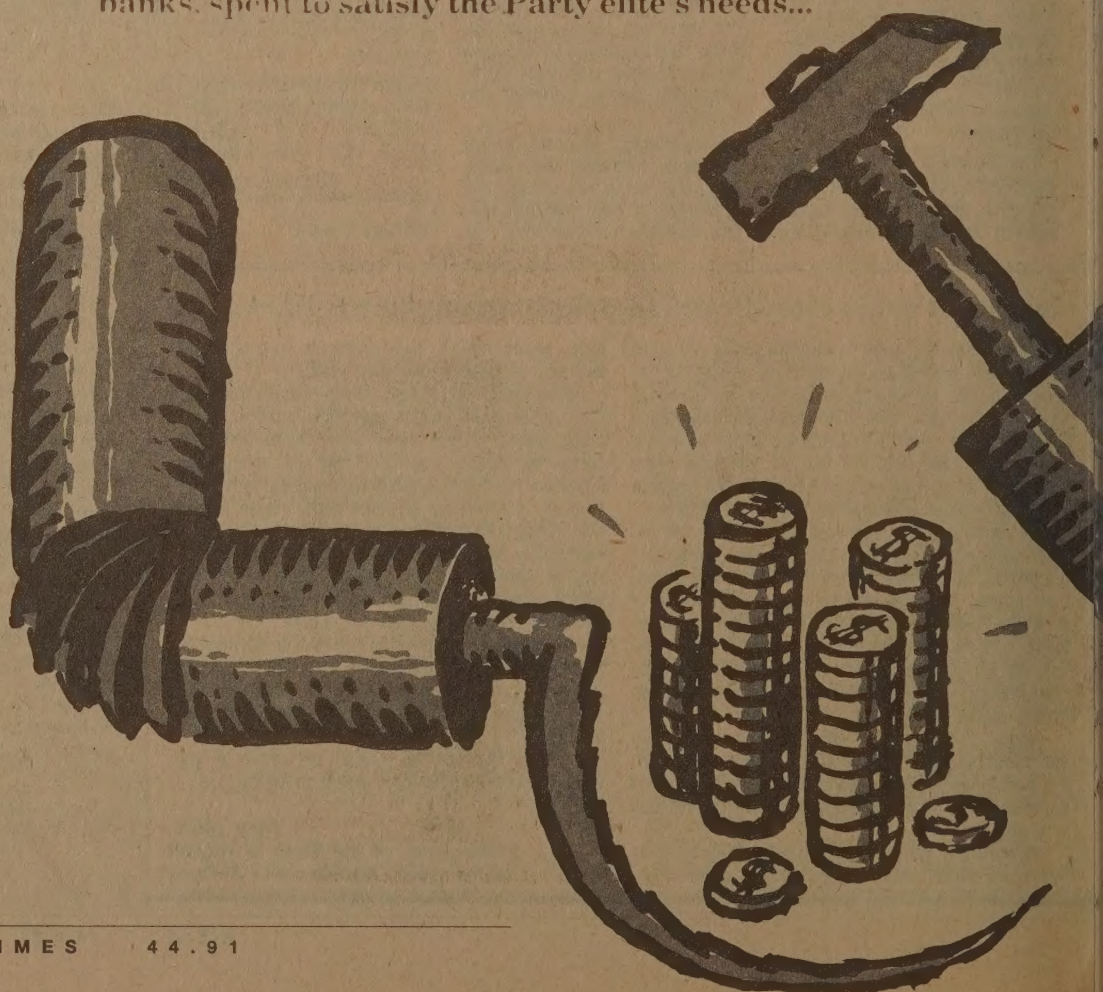
Truly yours,
Ambassador of the State of Kuwait
to the USSR Abdulmohsin Al-Duaij

Compiled by
Tatiana Chernova

NT INVESTIGATES

The secret file of the Politburo

The CPSU plundered the impoverished country. The money expropriated from Ryazan peasants and Vorkuta miners, received as Western countries' aid, was channelled to "fraternal" Communist Parties, hoarded in safes of European banks, spent to satisfy the Party elite's needs...



Nikolai Kruchina (left) and Georgy Pavlov, two former executive managers of the CPSU Central Committee (Pavlov from 1965 to 1983, and Kruchina, from 1983 to 1991), will not answer any questions – they jumped to their deaths from the windows of their Moscow apartments. Dmitry Lisovolik, former Deputy Sector Head of the International Department of the CPSU, recently committed suicide, too.

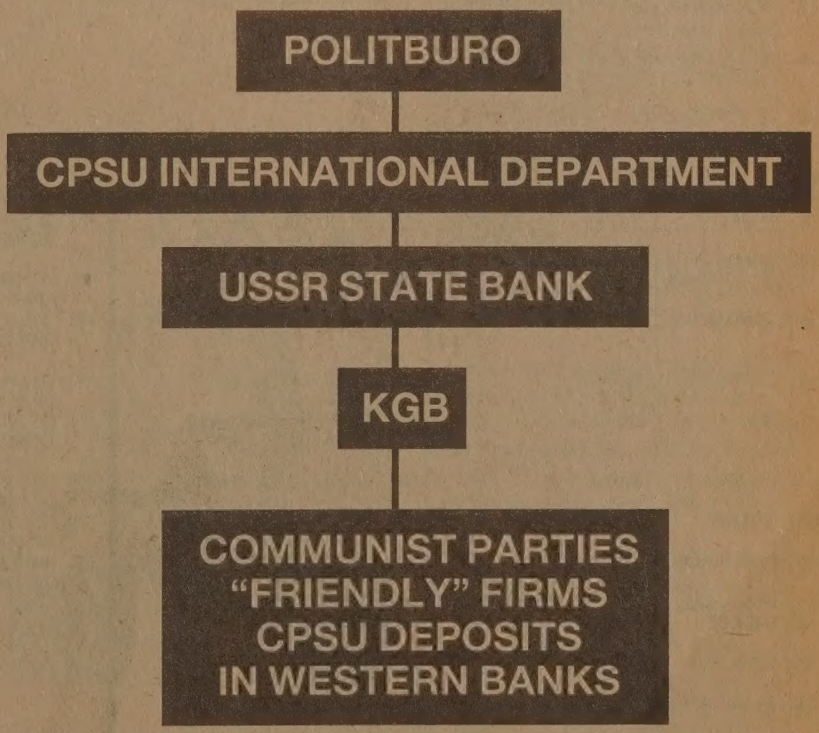
Speaking at the 28th Congress of the CPSU in July 1990, Nikolai Kruchina swore that the Communist Party's only means of subsistence was dues coming from the Party members: "There are no bank accounts or property of the CPSU abroad. There is only one source of the Party's hard currency revenues: dues coming from Party members who work abroad. Hard currency revenues of the Party go to the state budget and are returned to the Party in the form of their equivalent in Soviet rubles calculated at the official exchange rates...

The Oktyabrskaya: the construction of this hotel of the CPSU Central Committee cost the state treasury millions of dollars. The hotel offered free accommodation to leaders of "fraternal" parties and other VIPs of equal position

"Hard currency for Party organizations was allocated to us according to the standard procedure for all ministries and departments. On our part we compensated for the hard currency thus received to the Ministry of Finance with sums in Soviet rubles calculated at the official exchange rates."

In November 1990, the Central Control Commission under the CPSU Central Committee which convened under the chairmanship of the late Boris Pugo analyzed the reasons for the worsening of the Party's financial situation and concluded that rank-and-file Communists were to blame: they forgot about Party discipline and did not pay the dues in time. The Control Commission stated that other financial affairs of the Party were in perfect shape. Nothing was said about the money draining abroad...

Drawing by Igor Shein



The scheme of funnelling money to foreign comrades-in-arms and banks for the CPSU leaders' personal needs, for "a rainy day"...

P 219/7, September 20, 1985

Concerning the request of member of the ICP leadership Comrade Cossutta

1. The request of member of the ICP leadership Comrade Cossutta for the allocation in 1985 of $200,000 for the publishing of the magazine *Horizons* has been satisfied.

2. The State Bank of the USSR (Comrade Alkhimov) is hereby instructed to allocate Comrade Boris Nikolayevich Ponomaryov $200,000 for special purposes.

3. The KGB is instructed to carry out the transfer of the money.

Issued September 23, 1985

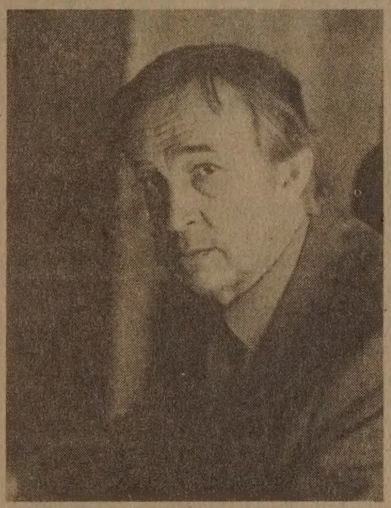
12.	Danish CP	350,000	To Copenhagen Comrade Jensen	paid	100,000 – 17/I, 100,000 – 11/IV–85 40,000 – 12/VIII–85, 180,000 – 18/VI	494.	157/2389 of 28.X.85 OP2892 of 29.X.85.	Receipt of $30,693.68 confirmed by B...(USA)
13.	Peruvian CP	350,000	To Lima	paid	100,000 – 8/I, 150,000 – 8/V			
14.	CP of El Salvador	400,000		paid	200,000 – 31/I, 200,000 – 29/V	495.	157/2390 of 28.X.85 OP2893 of 29.X.85	Receipt of $250,000 confirmed by the CP USA
15.	CP of Argentina	400,000	Buenos Aires	paid	150,000 – 22/I, 100,000 – 24/IV	496.	161/2817 of 30.X.85 OP2903 of 30.X.85	Receipt of $200,000 confirmed by Cappelloni for Cossutta
16.	CP of Brazil	300,000		paid	100,000 – 10/I, 100,000 – 11/VI 100,000 – 6/III–87	497.	161/2783 of 29.X.85 OP2914 of 31.X.85	Receipt of F2,196,550 confirmed by R. Urbany
17.	AKEL	300,000		paid	100,000 – 4/II, 100,000 – 24/IV, 100,000 – 3/X	498.	161/2818 of 30.X.85 OP2915 of 31.X.85	Receipt of £69,445 confirmed by Papaioannou
18.	Iraqi CP	300,000		paid	200,000 – 4/II, 100,000 – 1/VII	499.	165/2455 of 30.X.85 OP2916 of 31.X.85	Receipt of $30,200 confirmed by F...
19.	CP (Spain)	300,000		paid	150,000 – 17/I, 150,000 – 10/VI	500.	163/1630 of 17.VI. 85 OP1617 of 17.VI.85	Receipt of $32,000 confirmed by M.M.'s letter
20.	Comrade Cossutta	300,000		paid	200,000 – 10/I (Zagladin) 100,000 – 14/II	501.	164/2038 of 31.X.85 OP2939 of 01.II.85	Receipt of $22,633 confirmed by B. Boran...
21.	CP of Austria	250,000	To Vienna	paid	120,000 – 16/I, 130,000 – 25/II–87			
22.	Syrian CP	250,000		paid	100,000 – 4/II, 80,000 – 2/VI 70,000 – 3/X			
23.	PLAS	250,000		paid	100,000 – 17/I, 80,000 – 3/VII 70,000 – 18/II–87			
24.	Egyptian CP	230,000		paid	100,000 – 14/II, 130,000 – .../VI			

A page from a working diary of an International Department official. The rest of the text was illegible.

We are not guilty of anything

New Times has gotten several pages from a secret working diary that must have belonged to a responsible official of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee (an assistant to or deputy of the Department Head). The authenticity of the pages is confirmed by the characteristic manner of binding and stamps on each page. The official who kept the diary must have been responsible for keeping the accounts of the CPSU's financial assistance to "fraternal" Communist Parties. The pages have been reproduced by *La Stampa*. Even these few pages with figures which must have seemed dull and tiresome to the keeper of the diary make it possible to imagine the scale of the Communist Party's transfer of money to foreign comrades-in-arms struggling for the triumph of the ideals of communism. One of the pages contains a list of Communist Parties' leaders or their emissaries confirming the receipt of CPSU donations in various hard currencies. The numbers beside each confirmation look impressive: from 494th to 501st (besides, seven out of the eight donations listed were issued in the course of one month of October 1985). One can only guess how many recipients of CPSU money there were and how many such diaries were kept by International Department officials throughout the years of the CPSU's cooperation with foreign Communist Parties. Another page (see facsimile at the top of page 6) contains abstracts from Politburo (as is shown by the small letter "p" before each number) decisions on allocation of sums in hard currency "for special use." A few hastily written lines were enough to activate the huge mechanism of money transfer: Politburo–International Department–State Bank–KGB–foreign Communist Parties...

The facsimile on page 6 (bottom) reproduces the register of Politburo-ordered money transfers. The names of the recipients reveal the geography of the transfers: Europe, Latin America, the Middle East...

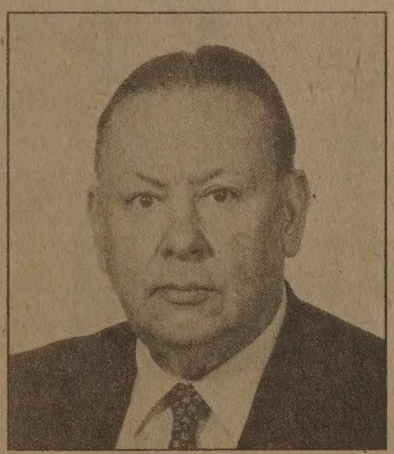


A *New Times* correspondent tried to interview the former secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, head of the International Department **Valentin Falin,** about the transfer of money to foreign Communist Parties. Valentin Falin refused to be interviewed and made the following statement:

"When I served as Central Committee Secretary, there were no instances of the CPSU financing foreign Communist Parties. As for earlier such instances, I do not have any knowledge of them, so you should ask my predecessors. I will not be able to declare my position on the current discussion of the matter, as long as I do not have official documents."

Meanwhile the press has already published some documents: CPSU Central Committee Directive No. R-175/3 of December 11, 1989, to the Director of the State Bank of the USSR "to allocate a sum of $22 million for 1990 for special use" to Head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, former Soviet Ambassador to West Germany Valentin Falin. Another directive, No. R-54/18, states how the money must be divided: for the CP of the United States, two million dollars; to the CP of France, two million dollars; to the CP of Portugal, one million dollars; to the CP of Greece, nine hundred thousand dollars; to the CP of Israel, five hundred thousand dollars; and to the CP of India, three hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

The commission investigating the CPSU involvement in the coup has discovered $600,000 in the safe of the Head of the International Department Valentin Falin.



Vadim Zagladin, former Deputy Head of the International Department, has denied any involvement in the CPSU money scandal.

"I have never distributed dollars, but someone in the CPSU might have done it," he said in an interview for L'Unita. "I have never dealt with money intended for other parties... The mention of my name is slanderous... I have never given a single dollar to anyone..."

The name of Zagladin is found in the money transfer register (see page 6).

The Communist Party treasury: something that one does not discuss in public

Tatiana Ivanova

Wanted: the CPSU money. It is not clear, however, who is actually hunting for the Party funds and how the search is being conducted. Everything is in a thick mist... I have found three million rubles, for example. Please take it and nationalize it. Use it to build a home for the elderly, or an orphanage, or to help a hospital for adults or children, in a big city or in a village – any hospital, they are all equally poor and delapidated. Let us spend this three million to buy bandages abroad. Three million will buy quite a lot of bandages.

Actually, I found this Party money long ago, but until very recently I was uncertain about the exact amount. Remember how the first new party was set up soon after the abolition of Article Six of the Constituion breaking the CPSU's political monopoly? The other party was the Liberal Democratic Party of Mr. Zhirinovsky. Remember where this event was discussed? I shall remind you of it. The information was published in the CPSU national daily *Pravda* printed in the most prestigious place: on the front page right under the newspaper's own name. I do not think I was the only one who understood that the LDP had actually been set up by the CPSU and that the CPSU intended to control the new party as it had controlled everything in our life.

The Liberal Democratic Party started living a happy life after that, and perhaps accumulated some wealth, too. The party was duly registered and its chairman, possibly the only member – a person calling himself the son of a Russian woman and a lawyer, claiming to have several university diplomas, to be fluent in a number of foreign languages and to whom the feeling of shame is absolutely alien – started arranging news conferences, throwing receptions, inviting people for dinners, touring the country... And finally nominated himself for the Russian presidency.

When he ran for the presidency, the chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party created and owned by the CPSU selected a Mr. Zavidia as his candidate for vice-presidency. When clever people heard the name of Zavidia for the first time, they were quick to understand that while the CPSU wrote the music for the LDP, Mr. Zavidia paid the money for it. Certainly, the executive manager of the CPSU Central Committee had never given Mr. Zhirinovsky any cash in a sealed envelope emblazoned with the CC logo. The pocket money for travelling expenses, hotel accommodations, renting luxurious halls, and refreshments for journalists attending a briefing was provided by Mr. Zavidia, a businessman. The potential vice-president of Russia is now a modest owner of the firm Galant. "What's your firm's product, please?" "My firm produces a whole range of goods in high demand, if you don't mind." "Could you please be more specific?" "I am afraid not, it's a commercial secret and beyond your understanding." "Excuse my asking, Sir. No more stupid questions." "You are welcome."

Elections, summer, a putsch... After that Communist newspapers were closed down for some time. The liberal intelligentsia fainted: It's so undemocratic! Freedom to our colleagues, Communist journalists! Following Voltaire and other freedomlovers, the intelligentsia vowed not to spare their lives to make it possible for their Communist adversaries to declare their heartfelt convictions. Seeing his recent allies in a state of deep shock, Boris Yeltsin hastened to lift the restrictions on the Communist press. And it turned out that our mutual friend Mr. Zavidia is financing the most Communist of Communist newspapers – *Sovetskaya Rossyia*. He even has an office on the newspaper's premises.

Wait, wait... Isn't Mr. Zavidia's money the CPSU's money? There are documents confirming this. The activities of the CPSU were suspended after the putsch and there is a not-so-weak hope that they will not be allowed again. Even if the Communist Party is permitted to work again, so what? Aren't its assets frozen? Wasn't it decided to return the Party money to the humble masses? But *Sovetskaya Rossiya* continues to live off those funds.

Hasn't the activity of the CPSU been suspended? Haven't its committees been closed and assets frozen? Is anyone really looking for the Party money? If so, why nobody takes the money which obviously comes from the Party's treasury?

Let's get back to the three million rubles, however.

Here's where the money comes from:

"The Managing Directorate of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia represented by Executive Manager Igor Mikhaylovich Golovkov and the firm Zavidia represented by the President of the firm, Comrade Andrey Fyodorovich Zavidia have agreed on the following: The Directo-

Georges Marchais and Mikhail Gorbachev: while criticizing the CPSU, foreign Communist Parties never forgot to annually receive millions from it

Photo from the magazine Révolution (France)

rate will transfer to the Firm as interest-free credit a sum of three million rubles for the term of up to December 31, 1991..."

The tree million has to be unconditionally confiscated from the firm's capital. The rest of the capital, i.e. the money additionally earned with the help of the CPSU three million must become the subject of investigation which will decide whether it will have to be confiscated, too.

The Party money should be given to the orphans. As for Communist newspapers, they should try and exist without the financial support. If they manage on their own, it's OK. If not...

Sovetskaya Rossiya has recently published a tearful article about the wife of Anatoly Lukyanov, the former head of the Soviet parliament recently arrested on charges of high treason. Only the cruellest of judges can order the imprisonment of this kind, noble, and oh so honest man... The article echoed a recent TV programme in which the wives of the other arrested coup leaders tried hard to make people sympathetic by telling tearful stories. I am almost sure that one day we will see a document similar to the one cited above revealing the source of the financing for the heart-breaking TV programme.

The Party used to spend the people's money as its own. In the time when the nation was in an unprecedented plight, when heart patients had to save heart pills and doctors had to save bandages, when people suffering from agonizing pains were unable to buy pain-killers, when asthma and diabetes patients and people contaminated by radiation in Chernobyl and Chelyabinsk were dying like flies... in those times hard currency was being sent to the well-fed and affluent Communists from the United States, France, Italy, so that they could participate in election campaigns and win their two to fifteen percent of seats in parliaments. When the country desperately needed its own newspapers, but there was no paper to print them on, the CPSU was sending tons of paper abroad to the "fraternal" parties. The leaders of such parties were free to enjoy life in the Soviet Union's best leisure centres as long as they wished, and when they finally decided to leave, they were given generous financial assistance.

It arouses disgust and shame to remember last year's embraces with Mario Soares, while at the same time the CPSU was pumping money to Soares' opponents.

It is the ultimate expression of cynicism to beg for credits from the government of a rich country for our poor, then to get such credits and secretly transfer them to that same country, to the budget of the party whose whole activity is devoted to the overthrow of the government that gave us the credits.

The Party is the mind, the honour and the conscience of out epoch, as Lenin put it. Obviously, Communists sencerely believed they were the chosen people, the only ones who deserved limousines, luxurious resorts, delicious food and top-quality health care. They must have thought that their cause was above all other concerns. The humble masses, the undeserving poor were living their miserable lives in a different world – and this was the way things were. As for the Communists, their mission was to rule. And foreign Communists – be they Blacks of advanced age, Frenchmen, Italians or Portugese – also deserved a life with no problems. Proceeding from this vision the CPSU financed Communist bosses throughout the world.

And now after the initial parliamentary hearings about the CPSU money scandals have started to flare up throughout the world.

The criminal party, its symbols, and any propaganda of its activity must be outlawed.

If he immediately issued a decree outlawing the Communist Party, the President of Russia would save the international reputation of this country and our image in the world.

And after that let the most experienced detectives start looking for and confiscating the money the criminal party stole from the nation. I think that this mission is not impossible for real professionals. After all, unprofessional as I am, I have found three million rubles.

Thou shalt not judge the last General Secretary

Said Andrei GRACHEV, head of the presidential press service, formerly one of the heads of the CC CPSU International Department, easily the main channel through which state funds were funnelled abroad disguised as assistance to foreign Communist Parties:

"Known as the nucleus of the Soviet political system, the CPSU used to operate as one of the incarnations of the huge state-military-economic mechanism that ruled the country for the past seventy years. Being the main element of this mechanism, the Party naturally served the state policies, including international ones. Its international contacts with 'fraternal' parties – be they ruling ones (in socialist or developing countries), opposition ones or even illegal one – were aimed at supporting allies, gaining new 'friends' and exercising influence on the international public. Very briefly put, the objective was to maintain the political 'family' which any self-respecting superpower had to have in the past. The United States was doing approximately the same, although on a grander scale, because it had more opportunities.

"Financial support of 'friends' – directly or through various commercial or publishing firms – was an element of this activity. Such 'cooperation' had been carried out since the time of the Comintern and was actually no secret for the international press and public, with the exception of concrete amounts and concrete people, the recipients of assistance. Naturally, this activity must be elucidated now.

"It is not very serious to believe that this activity, which was radically curtailed in the past few years, was a part of the Communist Party's preparations for the putsch – provided that the people who so believe do not pursue their own political ends. In this case, however, such political ends must be exposed as what they really are. As for this aspect of the international activity of the Communist Party, it must be thoroughly analyzed and, most probably, condemned like many other aspects of the Party's activity have been. The question is who is to be condemned: the history of this country, the people who shaped this history, or the last General Secretary of the Party who put an end to the practice of international financial assistance and the unconstitutional activities of the CPSU."

Russia's mascot

Anyone whom Russia's President, parliament, and people trust could have assumed office as her Premier, but the President himself decided to take over

Marina Shakina

Long before the Extraordinary Fifth Congress of Russia's People's Deputies was inaugurated, journalists dubbed it a crucial highlight. Oddly enough they were not mistaken, even though the two months of post-putsch confusion were imbued with a feeling of consternation and obscure expectations of heaven knows what. However, after two months of see-sawing between State Council and parliament and conjecturing as to who would assume office as Russia's Premier, the said Congress, though many of its deputies were absent, dotted the i's and crossed the t's.

In short, Boris Yeltsin enunciated what had been expected of him. He put before parliament an economic programme for Russia.

Prices yes, but where are the goods?

Though we still do not know exactly who fathered this programme of economic reform, we can definitely say that its authors are a team of desperados who know how to explain things in plain language. They have definitely taken into consideration the social allergy to the term "programme" which is why they eschewed wordy constructions in the political-economic vein preferring to present a tough range of both economic and political undertakings.

The basic concept of this new programme and of the new approach is that Russia will no longer wait for the other republics to begin, but will instead start on its own. She is going ahead which, as one of those inevitable steps that Russia's leadership has programmed, may disappoint some folk inasmuch as the proclaimed two methods of controlling monetary emission, implying that either the ruble remains and there will be no other national currency units, or else Russia will introduce its own monetary unit, may be qualified as well nigh blackmail. Yeltsin has reaffirmed economic concepts about which he only hinted before the Congress was inaugurated. They include the unfreezing of prices, ending subsidies to the central ministries and departments, control over monetary emission plus much more, such as rapid privatization, the abolition of bankrupt lines, curtailment or the civil service, the buying and selling of land, and the conversion of weapons plants. Though in principle Yeltsin is no Columbus in this respect inasmuch as all the terms are familiar while some even seem like household phrases, as in recent years politicians have been unstinting in their use of a fashionable vocabulary, there are some new points which tell us that the President's announcement is not a repetition of the shopworn.

Thus he adopted a tough stance towards Russia's partners in the economic alliance, put the trade unions in their place, reaffirmed his standpoint with respect to local governors whom he will appoint for the time being, and also frankly asserted that there was hardly any money for a cultural policy and soon there will be nothing at all, which is quite believable.

Recently it was thought that a programme would seem realistic if it specified a definite timetable for reform. However, Yeltsin's programme has none. Though paradoxically, it appears realistic for the simple reason that it does not augur anything good for Russia in the foreseeable future.

Indeed, would anyone queueing for hours in dirty shops for milk or wending one's way across potholes and between heaps of rubbish and dilapidated buildings believe that a miracle could be close at hand? The programme mentions a timetable but once; according to the President's calculations, Russia will have stocked shops one year from now. This is also realistic as he doesn't say whether anyone will be able to afford the stocked goods. After all, the unfreezing of prices, or to use the popular epithet in this country, the "liberalization of prices" seems to be a bogey.

Though social benefits for the disinherited are promised, this is hard to believe. One

Boris Yeltsin. Let's take the plunge! Only the first year will be tough

can only look to the heavens above and hope that the aid intended for invalids and elderly pensioners, as well as for large families, will reach them and only them. It is again hard to believe that the "liberalization of prices" will of itself spur competition and serve to stabilize production, even if implemented concurrently with the breaking up of large enterprises and their transformation into stock companies. Indeed, hardly any though has been given to demonopolization, because even if a large state concern is broken up into five different firms, that is but a drop in the ocean, as, come what may, they will not compete among themselves, but will again corner the market as nothing will prevent them from working out agreed prices. Russia's capitalists have yet to fanthom capital's enigmatic property, which is that the more rapid the turnover is, the greater profits it nets for both producer and all of society generally. The monopolists are dead set on preserving unsold inventories over a year or even letting half rot, so as to keep the price up. Moreover, the experience of other countries indicates that if a work collective buys out the enterprise or assumes control in some other manner and becomes the proprietor, it will squander all the profits netted for purposes of consumption and will be but little inclined to invest in future production; hence the abolition of the ceiling on wages and pay will only give it greater incentive to that end.

Photo by Yuri Gripas

To cut a long story short, the President was unquestionably right when he promised an austere year ahead. We can already see that plenty of mistakes will be made, but we also see that this can no longer be put off. A start has to be made and the government will have to correct itself on the go, which is quite realistic. After all, it is simply impossible to present a detailed schedule for reform. Russia's leadership will need to make quick unusual decisions "here and now." However, that is better than having society sink deeper and deeper into the morass. During 1990 production in Russia fell by nearly 20 percent; and meanwhile we know from world experience that a 25 percent declines spells total economic collapse.

A stake that means more than popularity

All sorts of rumors were heard in Russia's "White House" as to who would be designated Premier, Yuri Ryzhov, Mikhail Poltoranin, or Svyatoslov Fyodorov. Then out of the blue Yeltsin offered to take office himself. Now everyone is wondering whether the President has blundered, or, on the contrary, has shown a stroke of genius.

The simplest explanation which does Yeltsin credit is that he realizes that Congress will vote for a radical market economy programme and consent to liberalization only if he, Yeltsin, personally vouches for all that. Indeed, in the case of any other appointment the reforms would be derailed. Of course, for his own image it would have been better for him to have distanced himself from unpopular government undertakings and entrusted reform to another politician, whom parliament has already nicknamed a kamikaze, and then after the inevitable indignation over the outcome of unpopular activity, kick this government out and appoint a new one in its place to continue the previous policy, until indignation again rides high. Two or three such government reshuffles would gradually get the reforms implemented while Yeltsin himself could have looked down from his high office.

However, as far as one can judge, Boris Yeltsin is fond of gambling with destiny, which is to be discerned in his biographical *Confession on the Given Theme*. Over recent months the public has built up a definite image of Yeltsin as the ideal leader in a critical pinch. Which means that with Russia's economy currently on the brink, broad horizons open up for a man willing to risk his all.

Ever since his 1987 disgrace, Yeltsin has been Russia's mascot with his name now and again ensuring totally inexplicable success in virtually every political cause. People believe that while he is at the helm, Lady Luck will smile on him...

Everyone needs free prices

Gennady FILSHIN, Russia's Minister of External Economic Relations, tells our parliamentary correspondents **Gennady Arievich** and **Tatiana Lekhto:**

The government that undertakes reform will have to back out. A strong premier is shortlived, but then, what's the use of a weak one? President Yeltsin still enjoys trust and this must be put to use. Today the population will tolerate it all only if Yeltsin does it. I think there will be two dangerous phases. The first, when market incentives are already operating but there are no results as yet, and hence we must simply endure it. The second phase will come, when the market mechanisms are in full swing and shops well stocked but social stratification has intensified. When I was heading towards the Kremlin, the people I met on the way asked that we do all we can so that no capitalist ever comes back. They don't realize that in the final analysis, it is not the capitalist but they themselves who need free prices.

During the next stage a subtle policy must be initiated to protect both the producer and the disinherited. That is what governments basically do in a market economy.

Many wonder whether the liberalization of prices is conceivable in the case of monopolized production, whether that would not spur prices to gallop in spite of the complete absence of marketable commodities. The demonopolization law must institute central control over production ceilings. A concern, like Gasprom, which controls the gas industry, is inconceivable. Hence it must be broken up to get market competition going.

Free prices are not an aim in themselves. They are but a means of gaging how much we spend to what purpose and how much is really needed. The current prices only distort reality. Though all think we are helping out schools and hospitals by providing them with fuel and public utilities at reduced cost, actually we are wrecking them, because given such rates nobody will give them anything. What needs be done is to give them the money to enable them to buy everything they need on the market. Wages and pay must automatically rise along with prices.

We must feel happy to see that our leaders have matured and realized that radical reform is necessary. Inaction is worst of all. The start being made inspires optimism.

President Yeltsin and the Chechens

Why are the Chechens taking up arms? Whom is General Dudayev going to fight in his holy war? What are the dramatic developments in the Northern Caucasus? *New Times* presents the view of a Chechen historian living in Europe

Abdurakhman Avtorkhanov

Everybody remembers the declaration of Russian President Boris Yeltsin in response to the Tatars' demand for national sovereignty: "Take as much sovereignty as you can handle." When the Chechens took this declaration seriously and made public their intention to secede from Russia and form an independent republic, the Yeltsin team reminded the Chechens and other peoples living in Russia that Russia shall remain united and indivisible. Immediately after issuing this warning, the Yeltsin leadership of Russia put forward ultimatums demanding the unconditional surrender and disarmament of the Chechen National Guard headed by retired Air Force General Dudayev, which supported Yeltsin during the August coup while the official leadership of the Chechen-Ingush republic either openly sided with the junta or preferred to remain neutral.

The language of ultimatums is not the language that the proud and easily excitable Chechens understand. The great advocate of the freedom of the Caucasus Russian poet Lermontov, thus described the Chechens in his poem *Izmael-Bey: "The tribes of those canyons are savage. Freedom is their God and war is their Law / It is not a crime to slay a foe there / Their friendship is loyal / And their vengeance unfailing / They pay good for good and blood for blood / And their hatred is as boundless as love."*

The war in the Caucasus continued for 150 years if one takes the time of Peter the Great as the point of departure. However, the really energetic efforts to conquer the Caucasus were not taken until the time of Catherine the Great whose armies were led by the famous Alexander Suvorov. The second Russian-Caucasian war started in 1817. The Russian armies were led by General Yermolov who won himself fame fighting the French on the field of Borodino. Yermolov possessed a combination of strategic vision and unprecedented bravery, but he was cruel and merciless. He was succeeded by General Paskevich, the conqueror of Armenia. In the decree issued by General Paskevich's name Emperor Nicholas I thus described the mission of the newly-appointed Commander-in-Chief: "After you have carried out the mission of colonizing Armenia, you will be ordered to carry out a no less important mission – and a much more important one as far as practical matters are concerned – the mission of conquering the mountaineers and eliminating the ones who refuse to bow to our will."

It is understandable that the peoples of the Caucasus were enthusiastic about the 1917 collapse of the Russian Empire. After the 1917 February Revolution their national demands did not go farther than the demand for ethnic autonomy within the new, democratic Russia. The situation changed dramatically after the Bolsheviks seized power in October 1917. The new regime immediately started to create a Communist empire in place of the Russian Empire that existed no more. The Caucasian mountaineers were the first to secede from Communist Russia, and on May 11, 1918, they declared the independent Republic of the Northern Caucasus.

The gravest, fatal mistake of the Chechens and Ingushes was to have started a general armed uprising led by Lenin's Commissar for the Caucasus, Sergo Ordzhonikidze, in the rear of the troops of General Denikin's army. A great military leader but a hopeless politician, General Anton Denikin started his campaign against the Reds under the slogan "For a united and indivisible Russia." Lenin and the Bolsheviks responded by putting forward a different slogan "For self-determination of peoples up to secession from Russia." Finally the Bolsheviks won the Civil War in the multinational Russia.

Joseph Stalin rewarded the Chechens, Ingushes, Karachais and Balkars for their support of the Bolsheviks by deporting them to Kazakhstan and Kirghizia in 1944.

How did the Chechens behave in Kazakhstan labour camps? Solzhenitsyn, who served his term in exile in Kazakhstan, thus described their conduct: "There was one nation that refused to succumb to the philosophy of submission – not individual rebels, but a whole nation: the Chechens... Never and nowhere have the Chechens tried to please the camp bosses: on the contrary, they have remained proud and even hostile to the administration." (*The Gulag Archipelago*).

When the parliament of Russia presented the descendants of the proud Chechens described by Solzhenitsyn with an ultimatum, the retired Soviet General Dudayev rebelled and headed the national independence movement. The descendants of Shamil – the legendary fighter for Caucasian freedom – the peole of Daghestan assembled for a national congress and declared that in the event of intervention by Moscow, they would fight on the side of the Chechens and Ingushes. Who needs a third Caucasian war now when there has appeared the hope for turning the long-suffering country into a commonwealth of free peoples?

I cannot approve of the role played in the Chechen-Ingush crisis by the parliament of Russia and the Boris Yeltsin administration. To prevent

Abdurakhman Avtorkhanov, prominent political scientist living in Munich, Germany. His books – *The Genesis of Partocracy* and *The Kremlin Empire* – are being published in the Soviet Union. Avtorkhanov is the author of the only book on the Chechen history, *The Genocide of the Chechen-Ingush People. Genocide in the Soviet Union.*

readers from thinking that the author of this article is a devoted Russophobic separatist, I must make clear my approach to the ethnic question throughout my long life in emigration. I declared this approach during Stalin's reign in the Munich-based magazine, *Svobodny Kavkaz* (Free Caucasus). I wrote in the very first issue of the magazine: "History suggests that the freedom of the Russian people is the major prerequisite of the freedom of other peoples of the Soviet Union. We will not be free unless the Russian people is free." (*Svobodny Kavkaz*, No. 1, October 1951).

In early October, when the power crisis in Checheno-Ingushetia started to unfold, I began receiving calls from Grozny urging me to voice my opinion about the developments. I addressed the then Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, Zavgayev, and the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Chechen National Congress, Gen. Dudayev, with identical telegrams: "Keep Checheno-Ingushetia from a new tragedy. Solve the crisis of power by constitutional means."

At that stage the crisis developed between the old structures of power represented by the then Supreme Soviet, and the national democratic movement of the Chechen people, represented by the Executive Committee. Pressured by the people, the Supreme Soviet and its Chairman resigned and transferred all power to the Supreme Provisional Council. Moscow supported the Provisional Council. After that the crisis of power between the Chechen-Ingush government and the opposition started evolving into a conflict between Russia and the Chechens.

More fuel was added to the fire by the decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Republic to present an ultimatum to General Dudayev's National Guard and the Chechens demanding immediate disarmament of the National Guard which supported Yeltsin during the August coup. Dudayev retaliated by declaring mobilization of all male Chechens aged 15 to 50 to the National Guard in order to start gazavat, a holy war. This was a very wrong decision and I addressed Dudayev personally: "Exercizing the traditional privilege of the old to advise the young, I hereby address you, dear Dudayev: forget the holy war, seek freedom and independence on the ways freedom and independence were sought by the fringe republics, especially because after the declaration of independence of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, the North Caucasian republics have become fringe republics themselves."

If the Russian administration is interested in solving the Chechen crisis by peaceful means, it must forget about negotiating with the Chechens in the language of ultimatums or demonstrations of force. Chechens have never been impressed with ultimatums. The best solution would be for President Yeltsin to personally receive trusted representatives of the Chechen people and to listen to their complaints and demands in order to peacefully solve the conflict. ■

The 20th-century Cossack

The Ukraine has seceded from the Soviet Union and is showing no intention of coming back. New people are shaping Ukrainian policies. One of them, former prisoner of conscience and now a presidential candidate, is portrayed by his labour-camp comrade

Alexei Golub

In November this year the Ukrainian people will go to the polls to elect the first president in the history of their country. One of the candidates who is most likely to win is Levko Lukyanenko, a former prisoner of conscience and now a member of the Ukrainian parliament and Chairman of the Republican Party of the Ukraine.

We first met in a labour camp in Mordovia. We were attracted to each other by something more than our common struggle. Perhaps there was an ethnic element to that attraction – my father came from the Zaporozhye Cossacks, and my mother's ancestors were refugees from Russia who settled on the River Don.

Levko's parents, descendants of the Zaporozhye Cossacks, were hard working people. This quality, combined with the habit and ability to do things properly (whatever business was concerned – building a home, covering the roof with straw, making sleighs, barrels or boots, to say nothing of various purely peasants' jobs in the field or garden) allowed them to run a well-managed farm and to bring their children up to become wholesome people. They went to great lengths to avoid contacts with authorities, had great respect for knowledge and often preferred buying a book to drinking a bottle of vodka on holidays. Characteristically, if they happened to lend the rake to a neighbour, and the neighbour forgot to bring it back, to them, they preferred to make a new rake rather than to ask the neighbour to give back the old one.

Levko's father was a silent, sedate and nondescript person. His mother, a woman of innate reason and intuition, was always determined to uphold what she thought was the truth. In the village where everybody had a nickname, she was known as Advocate. She did not have much time to read, but if she read something, she would remember it her whole life. She knew a lot of songs and was fond of singing. It was from his mother that Levko first heard the Ukrainian anthem "Shche ne vmerla Ukraina." His mother also lilked one Russian song about a freedom fighter being escorted to the prison by police: perhaps her affection for the song was a premonition of the fate of her son?

Will the Banderists stop the train?

At the end of 1944, Levko was called up to the Red Army. He served in the Ukraine and then later in Austria, where he trained to become a car mechanic. Levko had learned a lot about cars by that time, and he had ample opportunity to devote himself to reading. At that time he also started to write a novel, but when he had written about ten pages, he realized that he might be imprisoned for his thoughts. He was faced with the dilemma: to write what was allowed, or not to write at all. Levko answered it in conformity with the formula offered by Russian poet Nekrasov: "One may not be a poet, but one must always be a citizen." It is better not to write at all than to write against one's own conscience.

However, his hiatus from literature was not too long. Soon Levko came across a book of poems by Ryleyev. The poem *Voynarovsky*, and especially the poem *Nalivayko* produced the decisive influence on him: Levko decided that he who was the first "to stand up to the oppressors" should not fear his own death.

Austria impressed Levko by its civilized ways and bumper crops on poor soils, but he missed the Ukraine.

Levko remembered how his father once took him to a field of wheat and said that wheat was not only beautiful, but also the principal food for the people. However, father said, bread was taken away from people and they had nothing to eat. When asked by Levko why people allow the bread to be taken away from them, his father said, "Eh, sonny, cleverer people than us have tried to free the Ukraine from Moscow, but failed..."

Levko wanted to return to the Ukraine and enter the Military Driving School (he thought the school was situated in Kiev). His plan worked. The train rolled into the Ukraine at the border station of Chop. The first thing Levko saw when he went out into the town was total decay and hungry children who fled on seeing a man in military fatigues.

The train went farther, to Lvov. It was the time when the Ukrainian insurgent army, led by Stepan Bandera, was actively operating underground. Levko eagerly waited for a unit of Banderists to stop the train and take him away with them. He thought the Banderists would blow up the tracks before the military train and he spent hours riding on the wagon step, in order to be the first to jump and defect to the Banderists in the general confusion.

It turned out that the school he wanted to enter had been transferred to the city of Ordzhonikidze. Later, the cadets were transferred to Dzhulfa and then to Nakhichevan in Azerbaijan. The small town of Dzhulfa had a good library, which even included the Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopaedia. As he read it, Levko first realized the falsity of the official Soviet history. Later, in Nakhichevan, he also had a chance to read. After a vacation in the Ukraine, Levko decided to devote himself wholly to the struggle for an independent Ukraine.

The Communist Party had all power and Levko decided to enter the Komsomol and later, the Party – not out of career considerations, but in order to have an opportunity to struggle. He graduated from an evening school and entered the school of law at Moscow University.

Changing the concept of struggle

In 1956, Levko adopted a concept of struggle because he saw that pretending to be an active Communist was morally corrupting. It was not possible to do evil in order to be able to do good later – first and foremost because one can die any time without having a chance to do good.

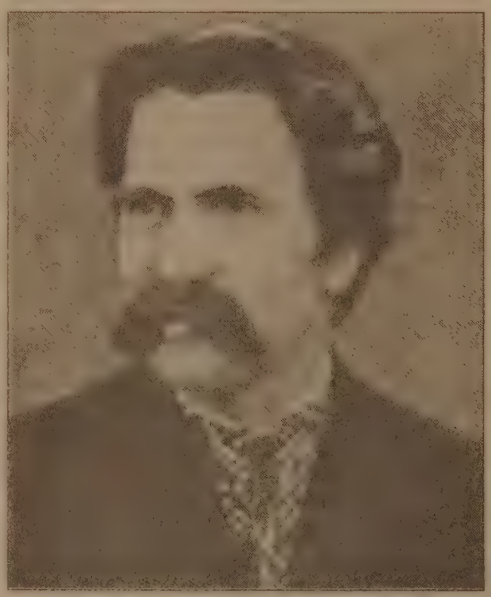
Bogdan Khmelnitsky signed the treaty with the Russian Tsar in order to facilitate Russia's joining the war with Poland, thus making it easier to establish an independent Ukrainian state. However, Bogdan Khmelnitsky's intentions were frustrated and the Ukraine found itself in slavery for three hundred years. Hetman Mazepa served Peter the Great, secretly dreaming of freedom for the Ukraine. He would have remained condemned in people's memory, had it not been for 1709, when the hetman declared: "It's time the Ukraine became an independent power. I am raising the blood-coloured banner of freedom against Peter!"

Levko worked in the Radekhov District. In conversation people often mentioned the Ukrainian insurgent army and the Banderists. In Radekhov, the last fight between the Soviet Army and the Banderists took place in 1954 and Levko saw fresh graves there.

The past was saturated with blood, while the present was filled with tears. People were made to join *kolkhozes*. There was no forage for cattle or food for people. By spring, peasants had to tie cows to the roof to keep them from falling.

Levko talked to Stepan Virun and Vasily Lutskiv, and they decided to set up the underground Ukrainian Union of Workers and Peasants and in October 1960 they held the first organizing meeting in Lvov (also attended by Ivan Kandyba) and discussed the preliminary programme which they found too radical. Levko was instructed to work out a new programme. The main idea of the programme was the Ukraine's peaceful progress towards independence through agitation and propaganda. They were arrested soon after that.

Despite Levko's dedication to peaceful methods of struggle, he was sentenced to capital punishment. He spent four months on death row, waiting for the executioners to come. However, finally the sentence was changed to 15 years in a labour camp. In October 1961, Levko was taken to concentration camp No. 7 in Sosnovka, Mordovia. Thus started his long life in the Gulag.



Levko Lukyanenko. A would-be president?

A road as long as 27 years

Ukrainians, mostly Banderists, made up more than one third of the labour camp's 1,800 population.

A new generation of Ukrainians started appearing in the camps after 1966. The KGB was arresting advocates of Ukrainian independence. They bravely stood up against the camp administration and were not afraid of contacts with foreign countries. In an attempt to crush the resistance, in the summer of 1967, the KGB transferred the most active convicts (Mikhailo Gorin, Valentin Moroz, Mikhailo Masyutok) to prison. Levko found himself in the Vladimir prison.

In 1970, Levko was transferred to concentration camp No. 3 near Barashevo, where convicts soon went on a hunger strike protesting against Soviet violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and demanding that political prisoners be recognized as a separate category of convicts. In 1972, the 500 most active protesters were trasnferred to Kuchino in the Urals.

In 1974, the Chusovsky court sentenced Levko, the Lithuanian Kudirka and the Jew Chernoglaz to a term in the Vladimir prison for having organized a hunger strike against the beating of the Ukrainian Sapelyak. I think it is clear why I stress their nationalities here: they never divided people on ethnic grounds.

When in the Vladimir prison, Levko's health deteriorated, and soon he was locked up in a mental hospital, although even the head doctor did not believe he was really ill.

One more term

Levko served all fifteen years, but he was not broken. Together with Mikola Rudenko, Oleksa Tikhy, Ivan Kandyba and others he set up the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. In 1977, the KGB arrested Rudenko and Tikhy, then Marinovich, Matusevich and Levko.

As a repeat offender, Levko was given fifteen years, including ten years in a maximum-security concentration camp. The camp was situated in Sosnovka where Levko had served earlier. In 1980, prisoners were transferred to Kuchino in an attempt to prevent information about the camp life from leaking to the outside. It became clear that the camp administration did not intend to let the prisoners leave the camp alive.

Mikhailo Kurka and Andrei Turik died in 1981-82, Yuri Litvin committed suicide on September 5, 1984, the Day of the Victims of the Red Terror. Anatoly Marchenko and Oleksa Tikhy died in the same year. Poet Vasil Stus died in 1985.

In 1987, Levko served out his term and was exiled to the Tyumen Region. He was not allowed to return to the Ukraine until 1989, but now he is back home.

Today Levko chairs the Ukrainian Republican Party and is running for presidency.

What are the Republican Party's objectives? The establishment of an independent state as the main prerequisite of the Ukraine's political, economic and cultural revival; consolidation and progress of its people; attaining better living standards; and achieving the Ukraine's worthy place among the free nations of the world. The way to these objectives is a parliamentary republic, guarantees of the free activity of political parties and organizations, and the equal rights of nations. The last principle is being specially stressed.

Knowing Levko personally, I am convinced that like the late Oleksa Tikhy, he will do everything possible to guarantee freedom to all peoples living in the Ukraine...

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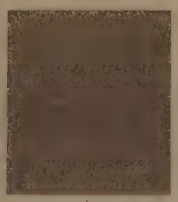

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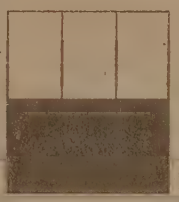

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Prices of "ours" and currency of "theirs"

The government insists we should raise prices closer to the world level. The irony is that, in order to stabilize the domestic market, the prices should be reduced rather than raised

Anatoly Matlin

From time to time the USSR State Bank announces the foreign currency exchange rates with respect to the ruble. Beginning this summer Soviet citizens have to pay 3,200 rubles for 100 U.S. dollars – a rate which is not easily comprehensible. 3,200 rubles constitutes an annual salary with a mean monthly salary of 267 rubles. 100 dollars can be earned in the US for 10 to 15 hours at a minimum wage.

Sounds like a fairy-tale. But like anything in the world, this can also be explained. The three possible reasons for such a phenomenon may be as follows.

First reason. The state and the state banks are interested in a one-way exchange to dispose of large quantities of "wooden" rubles. But it is no easy matter for common people to exchange rubles for dollars even at such an unfavourable rate owing to numerous hindrances from the bankers. The exchange, commercial, rate for foreign business is different: 175.44 rubles for 100 dollars.

Second reason. The domestic market has disintegrated but various restrictions on trade are still in effect. Therefore, one can hardly buy anything for rubles. The USSR State Bank notes are not backed with the relevant quantity of commodities and thus are worth only the paper they are printed on. Depreciated money has a relevant exchange rate.

Third reason. Since 1965 the country hasn't made a move that might be regarded as a wise pricing policy – instead, three overall price hikes were effected with revolutionary zeal. The country is not likely to have a hard currency if it is prone to meddling with prices arbitrarily as was done in 1987–91 when the totalitarian economy produced an abortive "price reform." And there could have been no other reform: given the state monopoly of property, the government can fix any price it wants.

Voracious government

It is commonly understood that pricing is the privilege of the owner. But he must realize what the consequences of his decision may be. Since privatization of property is not yet effected, the so-called price "liberalization" means that the state is going to vest enterprises with the authority to set prices without laying on them the burden of responsibility for this. The proprietor is always committed to his debts: he is liable for them with his property. When overdue, outstanding debts of state enterprises are merely transferred from one balance sheet to another.

However, the pay-day is put off so far, for the economic developments in the country have taken a different turn. There appear many sovereign states whose governments claim to be legal successors of the Union authorities on their territory. But young governments are not aware of the real value of the property they claim.

Since 1965 the government has allotted to the national economy less than half of the depreciation funds intended for overhaul and renewal of fixed assets. Over the next 25 years the Union government had actually "eaten" the country's fixed assets.

In fact, the only extant values of ours are vested in people, land and minerals.

Maybe a small number of large enterprises that turn out weapons are also of certain value.

On the whole, the national economy is not only far from being competitive – it is incapacitated. Many industries are in a critical state. Food, consumer goods and other industries should be started anew. This will require large investments which the young governments can't afford, and which will not be made by private businessmen no matter how rich they are. Given the galloping inflation, incessant disputes on property issues, and flaring ethnic conflicts, no sober-minded businessman will risk his money to buy property which is good for nothing.

Competing in despair

World history testifies that ethnic conflicts may rage for ages. It takes time for people to understand the futility of their efforts to follow the "national idea" well oiled by some politicians who in fact pursue their own ends, neglecting economic problems which are of paramount importance to people.

What is most interesting is that the government should bear responsibility for pricing in any economic situation, even when the means of production are privatly owned.

In any case the state will monopolize the production of certain commodities: exported raw materials, alcohol, jewelry, arms. Without such a monopoly the governments will not last until the moment their states reach prosperity.

The solution of important economic problems will depend essentially on the state monopoly prices. These prices will also set the general price trend in the country. The prices of raw materials influence production costs, the alcohol prices set the cost of labour, and the prices of jewelry form the retail prices of consumer goods. If the government decided to sell the jewelry from the State Treasury on the domestic market at reduced prices, inflation would be halted and the number of goods for sale on the domestic market would increase. Thus, in order to stabilize the domestic market the prices should be reduced rather than raised, and this is the paradox of the present situation.

The state monopoly prices influence, directly and indirectly, the exchange rate of the ruble. The ugly "price reform" was based on the thesis that it is necessary to align the raw materials prices on the domestic market with the so-called "world prices." We have a multitude of economists and financiers of the former Prime Minister's sort who have more than once driven the economy off the right track.

What is a "world price"? Crude oil is about 32 rubles a ton on the domestic market and 180 dollars on the London Commodity Exchange. Before one decides whether the domestic market price is "reduced" one will have to compare the ruble and the dollar.

Let us do that. First approach. The official gold content of one ruble is about one gramm. Applying the domestic price of oil, one ton of oil is equivalent to 32 g of gold or the respective amount of foreign currency. At present one Troy ounce (32.1035 g) of gold sells at 359 U.S. dollars on the London Exchange. This produces an interesting rate: sur 32 rubles for 369 U\S. dollars, that is, the domestic price (32 rubles) is twice the "world" price (180 dollars).

Second approach. A foreign businessman is permitted to exchange dollars for rubles and use these rubles to buy oil. How many dollars will the businessman pay for a ruble to buy oil? He will eagerly give 180 dollars for 32 "wooden" rubles, that is, 5.6 dollars for a ruble.

Now we raise the domestic price of oil to, say, 70 rubles. The problem is merely arithmetical: the businessman will now pay 180 dollars for 70 rubles instead of 32 as before, that is, one ruble will cost half the amount. Let us compare the "commercial" exchange rate: "175.44 dollars for 100 rubles.

Conclusion: a rise in domestic prices does not bring us any closer to "world" prices but brings down the exchange rate of the ruble with respect to other currencies.

If we go by the ruble's gold content and the prices of crude oil, we may conclude that the ruble is not as bad as announced by the State Bank of the USSR. Unfortunately, there are commodities with respect to which the ratio is different. This refers primarily to the prices of consumer goods and services, especially those of high quality.

Nevertheless, if one translates the ruble salary into dollars using the State Bank's "tourist" exchange rate of 3,200Rbls for $100 it will strike him that the rate is utterly unrealistic. This rate is not an instance of the true ratio between the currencies. It is more likely that someone is trying to use the situation brought about by the inflation.

If all sovereign states follow this path and continue to hike prices and down the ruble's exchange rate, they will inevitably end up in the world's gutter. Such a situation will be conducive to the realization of the forecasts of certain ex-leaders that the West will easily buy out everything that is for sale – of course, if the property for sale is still any good to anybody by then.

In such conditions the truly civil society should have demanded that the genuinely democratic state take effective anti-inflation measures to curb the price rise. In the current situation such measures might include the following steps:

– state monopolization of the domestic and foreign trade of the commodities produced by state enterprises which will for long remain state property: basic raw materials, jewelry, alcoholic drinks, and arms; the state monopoly being strictly enforced by law-enforcement bodies;

– re-consideration of the existing procedure of pricing and introduction of liability for illegal profits;

– immediate exaction of all debts that are due to the banks by granting them the right to appropriate state property, including land and minerals, to effect the material backing of the ruble;

– privatization of the state property only following the debt recovery; withdrawal of all state property from the authority of state administration bodies and institutionalization of the right to sue them in courts of law.

Photo by Vasily Shaposhnikov

Peace conference number two: no one wants to fight or to make peace

If emotions do not prevail at the Madrid regional conference on a Middle East settlement, if this meeting of foreign ministers carefully searches for mutual understanding without haste, the Middle East will have a chance it could not even dream of during its entire history

STANDS TAKEN BY THE PARTICIPANTS IN CONFERENCE

Prime Minister ITZHAK SHAMIR of Izrael

The Palestine Liberation Organization must not take part in the Madrid conference. Israel proposes solving the Palestinian problem in two stages. The first stage envisages the autonomy and self-government of Palestine for three years under Israeli control. The second stage provides for negotiations on the final status of the territories. Diplomatic relations with Arab countries are to be restored on the basis of bilateral peace agreements of the type of the Camp David agreement concluded with Egypt. After that negotiations on reciprocal claims could be held. The Israeli settlements and the status of Jerusalem should not be negotiated in Madrid.

President HAFEZ ASSAD of Syria

The retrieval of the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights is the main concern of Syria. However, Syria rejects separate negotiations with Israel of the Camp David type. Syria proposes to discuss in Madrid the question of Israeli settlements in the Arab territories and the status of Jerusalem annexed by Israel and declared its capital. Damascus has not yet recognized the state of Palestine proclaimed by Yasser Arafat.

King HUSSEIN of Jordan

Jordan takes part in the conference jointly with the Palestinian delegation and is prepared to agree with any wishes of the Arab people of Palestine. Though the PLO does not participate in the conference and is not represented in this delegation officially, its composition was determined by Arafat. Jordan intends to solve the problem in two stages. The first stage is a two-year (or better one-year) transition period. An agreement on the final status of the Arab territories and Jerusalem is to be reached at the second stage. Jordan is guided by the principle – peace in return for territories – and is going to discuss at the conference the question of Israeli settlements in the Arab territories.

President HRAWI of Lebanon

The chief aim of Lebanon is to free the southern part of the country from Israeli occupation in keeping with Security Council Resolution 425. The problem is complicated by the fact that guerrilla groups not controlled by the government conduct raids against Israel from Lebanese territory, and Israel strikes back. Lebanon favours the idea of discussing at the conference the question of Israeli settlements and the status of Jerusalem.

An agreement of a Camp David type?

Anwar Sadat was assassinated, but it seems he was right...

After the failure in 1973 of the first peace conference on a Middle East settlement, Egypt was the only country to decide to solve its problems with Israel without waiting for another conference. Five years later Cairo broke away from the united front of struggle against the "Zionist entity" and concluded a peace treaty with Israel at Camp David. In exchange, it won back the occupied territories and secure northern borders.

Egypt was then forgiven by the Arabs for its separatism. However, the Camp David variant is still considered unacceptable at the negotiations in Madrid. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the Arab states behave differently now than they did at the first conference of this kind. There is no anti-imperialist rhetoric from the states whose territories had been seized by Israel. Paradoxically enough, the most bellicose stand in the region was taken by countries that do not border on Israel and have no territorial claims to it. For instance, Iran openly calls for wrecking the conference and resuming the war against Israel.

Resolution 242. There is little in common between the Arab and Israeli positions at the Madrid conference – only mutual recognition of Resolution 242 passed by the UN Security Council in 1967. The Arab participants agree on the need to discuss the question of Israeli settlements and the status of Jerusalem while Israel flatly rejects this proposal. They also say "no" to the Camp David variant.

However, the parties involved in the Middle East conflict have different interpretations of Resolution 242. The Arab states place emphasis on the first point: "the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from the territories occupied during the recent conflict" (1967). Israel agrees with this point in principle. However, it insists on the right to administer these territories in the future because formally it is in a state of war with its Arab neighbours. The Geneva convention, to which Israel refers, says that the country which seizes the territory of the enemy continues to administer it until its fate is decided by means of peace negotiations. Israel called for peace talks right after the 1967 war. However, at the Khartum conference held in the autumn of that year the Arab countries passed a resolution rejecting negotiations and peace with the "Zionist entity" and the recognition of Israel. It can be said therefore that formally Israel abides by the Geneva convention.

Itzhak Shamir also points out that after the peace talks with Egypt, in conformity with the Geneva convention, Israel returned 90 percent of the Arab territories (the Sinai peninsula).

Israeli settlements. Speaking in Strasbourg on October 22, Itzhak Shamir said: "Jews and Arabs must learn to live together. In the areas of Judea, Samaria and Gaza we have allowed 100,000 Palestinian Arabs to return – mainly on grounds of family reunification – over last 24 years. We have also established Jewish villages and communities there which have displaced no one." However, the Arabs justly demand that Israel stop building Jewish settlements in the territories which do not belong to it. References to the desire to teach Arabs and Jews to live together are beneath criticism.

Jerusalem. The Arabs are also right in bringing up the question of the status of Jerusalem. Since Tel Aviv recognized the UN resolution on the special status of Jerusalem as an international centre of three religions, the annexation of this city and its proclamation as the capital of Israel is an illegal action. The fate of Jerusalem should be decided jointly by Israelis and Arabs with the participation of the United

Yasser Arafat:
Anti-Semitism was invented in Europe

"If the Madrid conference fails the world will face an outburst of Moslem fundamentalism," the PLO Executive Committee Chairman, **Yasser ARAFAT,** said in an exclusive interview given to *New Times*.

New Times. The principles of forming a Palestinian delegation to the Madrid conference show that you have virtually accepted the American-Israeli "rules of the game." What do you expect to get in return?

Yasser Arafat. Political negotiations are not market bargaining. We made a clear peace choice in 1988, when the Palestine National Council recognized de facto Israel's right to exist. For proof of my statement I can mention our support of the well-known American-Egyptian 10-point proposal and, later of the peace plan advanced by US Secretary of State James Baker. Incidentally, these proposals were rejected by Israel.

Nevertheless, proceeding from new realities in world politics, we prefer to make reasonable concessions rather than create obstacles in the way to peace in order to satisfy political ambitions. It goes without saying that we can rightly expect a similar approach from the opposite party. It is a matter of honour for the co-chairmen of the Madrid conference – the Soviet Union and the United States – to achieve this purpose.

NT. What is the composition of the Palestinian delegation?

Y.A. It is composed of 14 members as a joint Jordanian-Palestinian team. In addition, it has an advisory council consisting of experts.

NT. How do you see the role of the disintegrating Soviet Union in a Middle East settlement?

Y.A. It is very dangerous for a politician to be misled by superficial judgements. The Soviet Union today has a huge nuclear arsenal – 33,000 warheads is no trifle. It is a different matter that the transition period is always painful. In short, I think it is early to discount the Soviet Union, in the Middle East as well.

NT. Don't you think that, assessing the real political situation in the USSR, Boris Yeltsin should also be invited to Madrid?

Y.A. No one today doubts the political weight of the President of Russia. However, we should proceed from certain "rules of the game" set by the presidents of the Soviet Union and the United States. But in general, it is not our concern who will represent in Madrid the country occupying one-sixth of the earth.

NT. Did the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel have an adverse effect on Soviet-Palestinian ties?

Nations. After the conflicting parties finally make peace, Jerusalem could become a joint capital of Israel and Arab Palestine.

Golan Heights. While there are difficulties with regard to the political status of the West Bank, the question of Syrian Golan Heights is much simpler. Arab Palestine did not exist even a day as an independent state. At first it was a British mandate territory, and then it was occupied by Jordan. The Golan Heights is undoubtedly a Syrian territory. Thus, if the parties are to be guided by the Geneva convention, the Golan Heights are to be regarded as an occupied territory.

But the Arab participants in the conference have adopted a tough stand on the question where it is not appropriate. I have in mind their rejection of the Camp David variant. The linking of separate talks with Israel with the Palestinian problem looks like an emotional demarche, for they are different things, and one does not interfere with the other.

Dmitry Zgersky

Israeli settlements in the occupied territories are one of the stumbling blocks in the way of a Middle East settlement

Photo from Time magazine (USA)

Y.A. It did not come as a surprise to us. At the same time it would be reasonable, for the sake of keeping the balance, to expect a reciprocal step on the part of the United States, namely, the resumption of the dialogue with the PLO in Tunis.

NT. How do you see the future Palestinian state?

Y.A. The Palestinian state already exists, and it has been recognized by the international community. Its basic principles are set out in the declaration of independence. (Yasser Arafat read out with emotion the full text of the document. Only in one place where equal rights for men and women are proclaimed and, for the first time in the Moslem world, priority is given to the fair sex, the 62-year-old leader, who has taken a vow of celibacy until the complete liberation of his homeland, joked by saying that he did not fully agree with this provision – **Y.B.** and **I.M.**).

NT. Don't you think that Islamic fundamentalists represented by such organizations as the Hamas and the Al-Jihad al-Islami will increasingly rival the PLO leadership? Isn't there a danger that they will prevail in the state about which you have just talked at length?

Y.A. They will certainly prevail if we fail to reach concrete results in Madrid. They will prevail not only in Palestine but in all Arab countries, in the entire Moslem world.

NT. Will the same happen in our Islamic republics?!

Y.A. Surely.

NT. What is the future of the Israeli settlements in the occupied territories?

Y.A. The Israeli settlers will have to leave the occupied territories in keeping with UN resolutions. The Jewish communities permanently residing in Palestine are a different matter. They consider themselves Palestinians and should accordingly enjoy all civil rights granted to the citizens of the Palestinian state. It is noteworthy that one of these communities expressed the desire to take part in the Madrid conference jointly with our delegation. For my part, I recommended that Kheidar Abdul Shafi, head of the Palestinian delegation, meet them halfway. Two representatives of this community will arrive in Madrid. I think it is not the most pleasant surprise for the Israelies.

NT. The Soviet media speculated much about the PLO's positive attitude to the failed putsch in the Soviet Union. Why do you choose such "unlucky friends" as Saddam Hussein or Yanayev (former vice-president of the USSR)?

Y.A. It is not so in fact. Where do you draw such information?

NT. We heard statements in support of the junta's actions.

Y.A. From me?

NT. No, from high official of the PLO.

Y.A. Perhaps you will agree that I remain the leader of the PLO and only I have the right to express its official position. Let me recall what I said on August 20. I said that the events in the USSR were its internal affair and that only the Soviet people have the right to decide their destiny.

NT. Don't you think, nevertheless, that the PLO's one-sided orientation on the Soviet Communist Party seriously harmed its image in the eyes of the Soviet people?

Y.A. I am surprised to hear that from you, probably former Communists. I have never been a Communist or Socialist. Many of my radical colleagues in the PLO criticized me precisely for this. Nevertheless, they remain my comrades-in-arms and I will never betray them because I regard treachery as a deadly sin. As for the Soviet Communist Party, we shall never forget that it helped us in the days of our severe trials.

NT. Any politician should think about his successor while remaining in office. Is there such a successor in the PLO?

Y.A. I would prefer not to answer this question.

NT. The growth of anti-Semitism is felt in Russia today. Don't you feel any guilt for the kindling of Judophobia?

Y.A. I think you are obviously misinformed on this question. Jews are our cousins. Speaking about Jews, Palestinians use the expression "akhl al am" (from the uncle's family). It was Europeans who invented "anti-Semitism." We are Semites ourselves. How can we take action against our kinsfolk?

We lived in peace and harmony in medieval Spain. Incidentally, the Arab world, in which large Jewish communities existed, had never known pogroms. I am sure that when we become neighbours on the geographical map we shall not have ethnic problems either. We gain such confidence for example from a recent message of support by 29 members of the Knesset who, incidentally, constitute a fourth of its composition.

Yakov Borovoi,
our special correspondent,
Ivan Menshikov,
correspondent of
the Russian information agency Novosti
TUNIS

Sihanouk returns to Pnompenh

Four years of diplomatic effort to forge a peaceful solution of the Cambodian conflict have brought success. However, the Khmer Rouge decides to fight on

Talks between Hun Sen's government in Pnompenh and the opposition leaders, held under the aegis of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, have at last brought tangible results: an agreement on general political settlement in Cambodia has been recently inaugurated in Paris.

The agreement envisages, among other things, cease-fire between the warring sides, a reduction of the government's regular army and the opposition's armed forces, returning home of refugees (who number more than 350,000), and free general elections to be called in early 1993. During the interim period – before the elections – the situation in Cambodia will be controlled by UN observers.

The peace agreement is clearly another positive development brought about by the international termination of the Cold War. Without that recent change in the world's political climate and the end of confrontation between the great powers, the Cambodian tragedy would perhaps have lasted much longer. A certain researcher of the Cambodian issue defined it as a stunning and tragic combination of the nation's own suicidal war, the extermination of the nation attempted by its leaders, and the massacre perpetrated by foreign military powers.

Indeed, it is a macabre and frightening combination. In a spin of the Vietnam war, the US Air Force dropped 550,000 tons ofo bombs on Cambodian land. The Khmer Rouge led by Pol Pot killed about three and a half million Cambodians during their rule. Civil war, in which the government forces were aided by Vietnamese troops till 1989. raged in the country since 1979.

In his interview for French television, President of Cambodia's Supreme National Council*, Prince Norodom Sihanouk emphasized that "everything has to be started from scratch in today's Cambodia. The country is in a miserable state after 21 years of war and devastation. Earlier this year the nation regained independence, dignity and honour, but it will take the ravaged country quite some time to heal its wounds and restore the economy," said Prince Sihanouk.

This is going to be an uphill battle. The refugees repatriation programme alone will cost more than $100 million. The United Nations, which is supposed to guide and supervise the programme, so far has only $9.5 million earmarked for the purpose. It is unclear how the rest of the required sum can be raised.

True, the Paris agreement has put an end to the economic blockade which severed, in 1975, Cambodia's business ties with the capitalist economies. According to Cambodia's Minister of Foreign Office, Hor Namhong, France, Japan and Italy have promised to reopen their embassies in Pnompenh, and the USA and the UK are prepared to do the same. Restoration of contacts with "Asia's new tigers" – Singapore, Thailand, Taiwan and South Korea – is in the offing. The World Bank and the IMF promise their help. Yet all that alone is not going to be enough to resolve the economic issues involved in the plan for the restoration of the country.

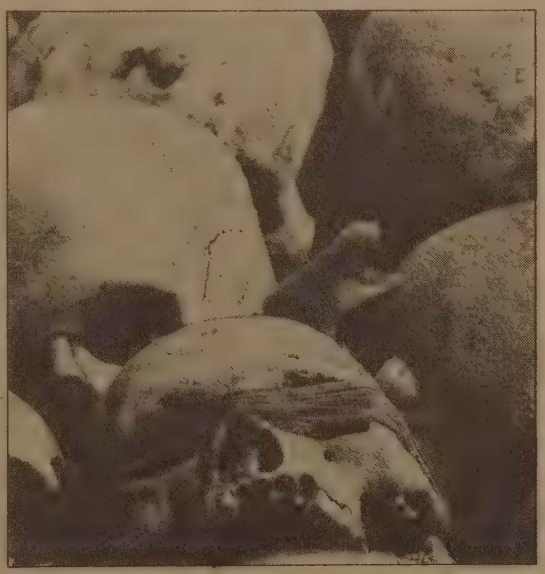
The Paris agreement legalizes all opposition groups and rival political factions, including the Khmer Rouge. The latter wants to fight on, unlike Hun Sen's government, Prince Sihanouk's followers and Cambodian People's Party, (which succeeded the People's Revolutionary Party but shed the latter's communist ideology) all of whom pledge their adherence to commitments involved in the Paris agreement. Shortly before the signing of the Paris agreement, the Khmer Rouge issued an appeal to liquidate bodies of local authority set up by the current government. International observers report that Pol Pot's forces plan to bring Cambodian refugees living in Thailand back to areas controlled by the Khmer Rouge – whether the former want it or not – in order to provide additional votes in their favour in the coming elections.

However, it is not only the Khmer Rouge that imperils Cambodia's peaceful future. The two-decades-old civil war has led to an unprecedented spread of violence being committed by armed gangs as well as by the military who have grown used to act "from the position of strength." It is possible that former functionaries of the disbanded People's Revolutionary Party of Cambodia, who disagree with Hun Sen's policy of reform and pacification in regard to opposition will try to sabotage the implementation of the Paris agreement.

The implication of all that is that the United Nations and its Security Council permanent members, important contributors to the effort which has eventually silenced the guns in Cambodia, are facing a new and equally difficult task, namely, keeping the guns silent.

Alexander Didusenko

*Cambodia's Supreme National Council was introduced in 1990 on the initiative of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. Each of Cambodia's warring factions is represented in the SNC. In June 1991, the SNC appointed Prince Norodom Sihanouk its President. Since September 1991, the SNC has been representing Cambodia in the United Nations



The terrible legacy of the Pol Pot regime
Photo from US News and World Report

Japanophobia

The Japanese are not liked in this country any more – they are too successful, too rich, too crafty, and they want a piece of our native land into the bargain

"The Japanese are repulsive. They come here with pockets bursting with money and feel quite at home," said a young woman, a Moscow University graduate who has studied the Japanese language to be able to earn hard currency.

"What do all these Japanese want here? They are spying and looking for something all the time. They have come here as plunderers to the still warm ashes of our home," said a Doctor of Philology at one of the Academy of Sciences institutes. "The Russian people are too open and the Japanese are taking advantage of this. And they are so closed themselves. You can never guess what's on their mind."

"Let the Japs know we are not selling our country down the river," said threateningly a young graduate of an elite Moscow college heading for an appointment abroad.

Tokyo has always believed that one day the Russian people would come to know the real history of the territorial dispute between the Soviet Union and Japan, and then justice would be restored. Japanese politicians were wrong. When Soviets learned that the Japanese wanted to get back at least four islands of the Kuril Chain, they started hating the Japanese.

The Committee for the Defence of the Kurils has already been set up and its chairman has declared that the people living on the islands are ready to fight to defend them. The parliament of Russia is humming excitedly. Such varied politicians as the pro-communist Sergey Baburin and the Social Democratic leader Oleg Rumyantsev have spoken up against any attempts to cede the islands to Japan.

Deputy Baburin, who visited the disputed islands to declare his solidarity with the Kuril patriots, told an Interfax correspondent that any politician who would try and sell Russian lands "would break his neck, because the people of Russia would never forgive this."

The Parthian arrow of the unsuccessful candidate for chairmanship in the Russian Parliament was shot in the direction of Boris Yeltsin who proposed a five-stage plan of the territorial problem gradual settlement, as early as when he was in the unofficial capacity of the opposition leader.

The Yeltsin plan is based on the 1956 Soviet-Japanese Declaration which stipulated the ceding of the islands of Shikotan and Habomai to Japan. However, the promise to transfer the islands was issued by the Soviet Union which does not exist any longer and Russia has not yet become the legal successor of the Union, regardless of whatever declarations Secretary of State Gennady Burbulis may have made on this score. Logically, Russia is not obliged to carry out the Soviet Union's commitments, noted Oleg Rumyantsev. In any case, it is difficult to imagine the parliament of Russia voting for the transfer of even two, to say nothing of four, islands in the current political situation.

The recognition of Baltic sovereignties must have generated hopes in Tokyo: if Moscow righted one injustice, it might be expected to right another one. However, entering 1992 Japan is nowhere closer to the desired goal than it was several years ago when Soviet diplomacy first recognized the existence of the territorial problem between the Soviet Union and the Land of the Rising Sun. The imperial position of the Kremlin obstructed the solution of the territorial question for more than four decades. Today, the main resistance comes from agitated national feelings. *New Times* has already written that Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev could easily transfer the islands to Japan: Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin do not have this privilege. They must get the support of parliaments and voters first. However, there is no sense in spending money on a referendum: it is evident that Russia will say "no."

The medieval conviction that territorial gains make a state stronger, richer and happier is deep-rooted in the Soviet people. Even the liberal daily *Izvestia* believes that "there will always be time to part with the islands." The author of the *Izvestia* editorial devoted to the problem insists: "Lands are given away in a state of utter confusion, humiliation

and loss of morale. Usually this happens after a horrible defeat in a horrible war. Have we been defeated by anyone?" This observation is correct, but it is better applied not to Russia, but to Japan which lost the islands as a result of its defeat in WWII.

There are no doubts about the legitimacy of the transfer to Russia of the southern part of Sakhalin and a greater part of the Kurils. It is only the Communist Party of Japan that demands the return of these territories. But the four islands which the Japanese call "northern territories" are obviously not a part of the Kurils.

Stalin occupied these islands as he would have occupied Hokkaido had it not been for President Truman's interference. Recently *Izvestia* published a priceless document from the Foreign Ministry archives showing that tsarist Russia had never claimed the islands...

After several decades of lies it is difficult, if not impossible, to expect society to be able to accept the new historical reality. The more so as conservative political forces stubbornly continue to insist that the four islands are "our land." The arguments of the defenders of the islands quickly start to sound disgraceful. Not knowing how to object to the Deputy Foreign Minister of Russia, Georgy Fridrikhovich Kunadze, the former head of the Japanese Studies Centre, at one of the Academy of Sciences institutes, Valentin Fedorov, Chairman of the Sakhalin Regional Soviet, issued a statement that a person with a German patronymic and a Georgian family name had no right to decide the fate of "lands Russian since time immemorial."

Valentin Fedorov seems to be more interested in demonstrating his regional jingoism to the electorate than in understanding the real history of the territorial problem. On the other hand, diplomats, historians and journalists have always known that Japan has every right to claim these islands. In the past everybody was made to tell lies. Scientists received degrees for attempts to prove what cannot be proved. But today there is no need to lie!

Can the islands really be returned to Japan? I do not think it is possible now, because the public opinion in Russia is actively against it. It is necessary, though, to recognize Japan's right to what was taken away from it and to stop promoting Japanophobia in society: after all, at least the rudiments of morality must be present in politics.

Leonid Mlechin

Japan is not going to buy the islands

What did Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama bring to Moscow?

Kiichi Miyazawa, 72, will take office of prime minister of Japan on 5 November, 1991. He speaks for large-scale and long-term financial assistance to Moscow

The most considerable piece of that luggage was, naturally, the $2.5 billion worth of economic assistance Japan offered to the Soviet Union. The sum is not really exorbitant. Normal people will never regard that money as the first payment for the islands. The Soviet people will only see food and medicine worth $500 million given from that sum in the form of credits. The rest is indirect assistance: the money allocated by the Japanese government will remain in Japan and will be used as insurance covering the risks of private Japanese firms doing business with Soviet partners or as credits to Japanese firms willing to expand exports to the USSR.

"The main thing," believes Professor Shigeki Hakamada, "is that the Foreign Minister has shown Moscow that the Japanese government's course has changed. After the events of this August, powerful pressure was brought to bear on the Foreign Ministry of Japan so that it changed its very tough approach to relations with Moscow. This pressure has already produced the first results. Today Japan has more chances to get the islands back than it has ever had. However, the complete absence of any tangible support to the Soviet Union on the part of Japan hindered the implementation of such chances. There is no question of rendering any large-scale financial assistance. The Soviet Union is just not able to digest it. Humanitarian assistance is another matter. But under no circumstances should we alow such assistance to look like an attempt to make a deal. Those who suggest the 'money-for-territories' formula are doing great harm to Soviet-Japanese relations."

Professor Fumio Nishimura's opinion was unambiguous:

"To render large-scale financial assistance through government channels means to give away taxpayers' money, and Japanese taxpayers are not at all enthusiastic about giving money to the country which continues to keep Japanese territories. As for private business, its passivity is even more justified: businessmen are also citizens of their country and they have national feelings, too. Besides, they are concerned about the unfavourable and unstable economic situation in the Soviet Union."

Professor Hakamada is convinced that the Japanese government must make clear its stance vis-á-vis the population of the four disputed islands. During the Nakayama visit it became known that the Japanese government intended to issue residence permits to people living on the islands and later to either grant them Japanese citizenship or to pay them compensation for moving to the USSR.

Professor Nishimura believes that the Russian-Lithuanian treaty signed shortly before the August putsch in Moscow, especially the section speaking of the rights and interests of Russian residents of Lithuania, might become a model for the Soviet-Japanese agreement on Soviet citizens – residents of the disputed islands.

"The main obstacle now is Mr Fedorov, the governor of Sakhalin," said Professor Hakamada. "Mr Fedorov is a populist. I have spoken with him and I cannot regard him as a realistic politician. There are political schemes and election ambitions behind his actions. Who needs good-neighbourly relations with Japan if not Sakhalin? And look what Fedorov is doing! Histrionics are needed when one plans a revolution. What is needed now is a sober, well-considered pragmatic approach, which, unfortunately, the Sakhalin Governor is not displaying."

Vladimir Ovsyannikov,
our own correspondent

TOKYO

GEORGY KUNADZE:

"I am not for the transfer of the islands, but..."

Deputy Foreign Minister of Russia **Georgy Kunadze** is interviewed by Sergey Butin of *NT*

New Times. Your trip to the southern Kurils has been described as the beginning of a propaganda campaign for the transfer of the islands to Japan. Do you really want to give the islands away?

Georgy Kunadze. This is not the way this question is most happily asked. In my opinion, this vision of the mission is influenced by statesmen from a number of politicians who make no secret of their desire to use the objectively existing problem of territorial division with Japan to achieve their own political ends. The simplification of this issue to the level of personal intentions is best suited for such pragmatic purposes. As for the Foreign Ministry of Russia, we intend to start seriously seeking a solution to this old problem. In this effort we proceed from the stance confirmed in President Yeltsin's message. The message was conveyed by Ruslan Khasbulatov, Chairman of the Russian Parliament, to Prime Minister of Japan Mr Toshiki Kaifu. The message included the following points:

– sovereign Russia's relations with Japan will not be those of the victor and the defeated;

– in its approaches to Japan and bilateral problems, Russia is going to proceed from the principles of legality, justice and the commonly accepted norms of international law;

– Russia regards cooperation with Japan as an integral part of its policy aimed at becoming a full-fledged member of the Asian-Pacific community.

Naturally, the Khasbulatov visit centred on the problem of territorial division with Japan. The Yeltsin message made it clear that in our policy vis-á-vis this problem we would proceed from the five-stage gradual settlement plan proposed by Boris Yeltsin in January 1990. As the right-wing conservative opposition has been ousted from the political arena, the rate of the implementation of this plan can be accelerated. Some Soviet newspapers hastened to spread the version, according to which the Russian administration was allegedly prepared to sell the four islands to Japan immediately – some papers even went as far as to say that the islands would be transferred together with the people living on them.

We started receiving telegrams demanding that someone come to the islands and make the situation more clear. As a result, a delegation, including People's Deputies Oleg Kalugin, Sergey Sirotkin and myself headed for the Sakhalin Region.

There was a strong temptation to just tell the people that there was no reason for anxiety and that the situation would never change and to forget the whole matter. We decided against it and told people the truth: the problem was there and there were islands that would be a subject matter for negotiations with Japan.

N.T. Were you expressing the viewpoint of the Russian administration or your own viewpoint?

G.K. I was expressing the viewpoint which was prevailing in the Foreign Ministry of Russia and, in our opinion, it was the viewpoint shared by the government of Russia. Incidentally, this attitude was officially expressed by President Gorbachev during his visit to Japan last April.

N.T. What was the reaction of the island's residents.

G.K. Unfortunately, after so many years of indoctrination it was difficult for the people to accept and understand the things we were speaking about. Nonetheless, while all meetings started in a very excited manner, the excitement calmed down as we explained our views.

N.T. What is your opinion about the actions of the Sakhalin administration? Today the position of Valentin Fedorov, Chairman of the Regional Soviet, is shared by many...

G.K. In my opinion this position is that of an impasse and no one should be misled by it. It is not based on international law or on historical arguments, but rather on mere emotions. Worst of all, personal ends are behind it. I am sure that the government of Sakhalin is very well aware of the situation. As for me I'm not a politician. But the situation is different. This is a problem of international law and it must be solved accordingly.

N.T. That is the stance of a diplomat. What is your personal position?

G.K. My personal position – and it has grown stronger since I visited the islands – is that I do not think the islands should be transferred either to Japan or to any other country. The Kurils are a wonderful place with tremendous opportunities, but it is so neglected that one's heart aches to see it. The Kurils are an immensely rich and horribly poor place.

But unlike many other politicians, I do not think it is possible to ignore the historical and legal realities if we want to have a law-governed state. In the final analysis, only honesty and impartiality make people stronger and preserve their honour and dignity. ■

Hecatomb?

How to get out of the grip of totalitarianism without slumping into a coup d'etat?

What is to be done with the past? How to kill the virus without endangering the life of the patient? How to find out who is terminally ill, who is likely to recover, and who did not contract it even after being exposed? What precautions should be taken by those who will be treating the malady?

One way or another, such questions are being asked in both the former republics of the USSR and the states which used to be its little brothers.

The recent events in Czecho-Slovakia start one wondering whether the remedy prescribed is right for society. The country's parliament has adopted a law of "lustration." Stemming from the Latin word "lustratio" – sacrifice – this word has gained currency in political parlance in the country. Off with the Latin meaning, this law gives authority to inquire into possible collaboration with the communist security service with a view to ridding the state administration, the army, the police, and state-owned enterprises from former security officers, their agents and collaborators of any sort as well as from Party functionaries at the regional level or higher, and from former members of the People's Militia, the Party's military guard. The time span of the inquest is from February 1948 till November 1989. According to the assessments of some local observers it has been decided to sacrifice a good million people – that is in a country with a population of 15-odd million people.

"Every society has a right to protect itself," says Federal Minister of the Interior Jan Langoš commenting on the law. Why, isn't it really so?

"Old structures," to use the local phrase, have not yet been neutralized – they skillfully adapt themselves to the new situation changing only their phraseology rather than their essence. As in the Soviet Union, they are a major hindrance to democratic reforms.

Almost all parliamentary parties of the right wing regard this law as a "final victory of the revolution." And there is a certain logic in this – recently people have started wondering whether the revolution was a little bit too velvet. Those who for decades encroached on human rights need harsher treatment.

"The new law means the collapse of the Communist Party" – this is how "the final victory of the revolution" is assessed by Stanislav Devaty, a member of the parliament. "This is the most sensitive defeat the Communists have ever suffered," declared the Civil Democratic Party. Anyhow, everyone must have his due. It is known that the state security service was only an executive of the orders given by the Communist Party authorities. Infringements on human rights are not the only blame laid on the Party – among others are the state of ecology, medicine, education and so on.

Such are the pros for the new law. It should be added that before the law was adopted the public requested that those involved in anything wrong resign. Some of those people heeded society's vibrations and resigned of their own will to save their families from public disgrace. But only some. Then the public discontent with the old structures was transformed into a law.

But not all feel enthusiastic about the law. Radio, TV and newspapers carry arguments of the opponents of the law. Let us consider them.

Protection of society? No, "this is a scandal that will involve millions of people. Managers of all levels will demand from their employees a loyalty certificate of sorts from the Ministry of the Interior after paying 200 Koruny," says Petr Uhl, director of ČTK.

Is the law a step towards a law-based state? On the contrary. "Negligence of the presumption of innocence, assertion of the principle of collective liability, denial of the right to appeal, humiliation of collective liability, denial of the right to appeal, humiliation of honest people who were mistaken in the past but who did no harm to anybody are not the ways that will lead to a law-based state. The law runs counter to the Charter of Human Rights that was adopted by the same parliament," says Jiří Dienstbier, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Deputy Chairman of the Federal Government.

The final victory of democracy? Far from that. "It's an offensive which can hardly be called democratic," concluded Alexander Dubček, Chairman of the Federal Assembly. He added, "The moment has come when the revolution begins to devour its children." "I wonder if we really need a totalitarian system back under a new guise," adds Petr Uhl as if summing up all points against the new law.

The last question is the question for us, too. According to the data of the All-Union Central Institute of Public Opinion, 36 percent of those polled after the putsch believe that the democratic dictatorship (however unnatural it may sound) is quite possible in this country. What is going on is the struggle for power – this inference which can often be heard in the USSR is now current here in Czecho-Slovakia in connection with the recent law. The people of the 1968 Prague Spring, Czechs and Slovaks of the 1960s have suffered a defeat. The vic-

"Cooking up another provocation?"

Drawing by Jaromir Gottvald (Czecho-Slovakia)

tory belongs with the rightwing forces who gained ground for the coming election next summer. The Parliament was far from unanimous with respect to this law having set a sort of record in the number of amendments, and passing it with a feeble majority of several votes. Some believe that the voting would fail if it were secret: the pressure of the public had its effect. And we should thank our putschists for such feelings of the public.

It is well known that there are people in Czecho-Slovakia who happily greeted the putsch in Moscow, "old structures" began to unite and even celebrated it with champagne. But on the whole society in Czecho-Slovakia was frightened by the August developments, and associating them with Communists it swung rightwards. Liberals are worried by this most of all. Alexander Dubček, Chairman of the Federal Assembly, refused to sign the new law. What step will be made by Vaclav Havel, a known fighter for human rights, philosopher and humanist, head of the state who not once spoke against the principle of collective guilt?

"Mr President! The text called a law of lustration runs counter to the principles which you and I set forth in Charter 77 several years ago. That is why I deem it my right and my duty to publicly caution you against doing anything that might discredit the Charter and your ethical and political authority which the country and the world directly relate with the Charter." That is the beginning of an open letter to Havel written by the renowned figure of the Prague Spring, Zděnek Mlynař, a scholar and political scientist. While admitting the necessity of laying down the legal foundations for purging, he emphasized that it could be done only in one way: "A particular person should be proven guilty in a particular case." So far the law is "somewhat different, in most cases opposite." The letter names known people who become liable under the new law although they suffered for decades after the Warsaw Treaty tanks entered Prague in 1968. A Prague newspaper remarked that if this law were applied to, say, Boris Yeltsin or Mikhail Gorbachev, they would have to resign immediately. St.Petersburg's mayor Anatoly Sobchak who was in Czecho-Slovakia at that time said at a press conference: "If such a law were passed in Russia, it would trigger off a civil war." There is no doubt that the former Communist countries should do away with all remnants of the previous regime that may be conducive to a coup d'etat. Similarly, the Lithuanian government did not hesitate to ban for five years former KGB officers and agents from leading posts in the state administration. But purification should not go side by side with vengeance. I don't believe that those who voted for the law just resisted their political opponents in the struggle for power – many of them had good intentions. But everyone knows that the road to hell is paved with good intentions. Maybe this is the right way to do away with one's past on a legal basis. But the law should not breed further injustice, new infringements on human rights. "Yes" to purification and "No" to immolation.

President Havel said he would sign the law. Although he admitted "some articles made his flesh crawl" when he read them. "We are living through the phase of new vengeance. "He explained his position in the following way: "Anyway the law is valid since the day of issue" (the Constitution does not vest the President with the right to veto). If the President refused to sign, this might wind up political strain and bring about "confrontation and chaos" he could not afford. Such a position may be exemplary for our presidents and their assistants to keep themselves preoccupied with possible political consequences of their moves rather than their own image. "We should take to renovating the law," and this is the main point of all Havel said. But will he make it a reality?

Totalitarianism turned out to be a nut much harder to crack than it seemed to those who crowded Václav Square in Prague or the square at the White House in Moscow. Today Czecho-Slovak newspapers recall now and then the Spanish developments when Spain purged itself without resorting to immolation. Neither forgotten are the words of Felipe González, head of the Spanish government, who said: "We've burnt all the bridges to give everyone an opportunity to take part in building up democracy." I think this is the right way to go about it.

It is reckoned that the law of lustration is the first law of the kind in post-Communist countries. What way will other countries follow (and the USSR, too)? What if they opt for another hecatomb?

Inna Rudenko,
our own correspondent

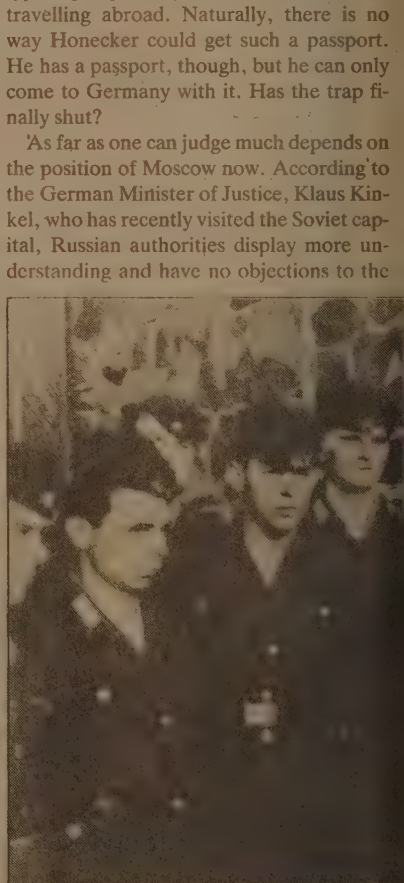
PRAGUE

When the former leader of the former Democratic Republic was smuggled to Moscow from a Soviet military base in Germany, Bonn's reaction was that of justified indignation. However, at the same time the German authorities experienced a feeling of relief which was never admitted publicly. In keeping with decorum, German politicians have been insisting on the extradition of Erich Honecker to the German justice which issued the warrant for his arrest. Before the August putsch, however, these demands were largely formal and not really insistent. At that time Moscow had no intention of extraditing the chief guard of the Berlin Wall.

But why isn't Honecker in Germany now, after the August events?

Honecker intended to go to Chile where his daughter lives, but President Aylwin refused to accept him. The formal ground for refusal was chosen brilliantly: Honecker is free to come to Chile, but he must carry the type of passport any German receives when travelling abroad. Naturally, there is no way Honecker could get such a passport. He has a passport, though, but he can only come to Germany with it. Has the trap finally shut?

As far as one can judge much depends on the position of Moscow now. According to the German Minister of Justice, Klaus Kinkel, who has recently visited the Soviet capital, Russian authorities display more understanding and have no objections to the



Thirty years ago Honecker inspired

Hunting for witches and wolves

Erich Honecker is still hiding somewhere around Moscow. It is not clear what charges can be formally brought against Marcus Wolf. Meanwhile, the witch-hunt intensifies in Germany's eastern lands

extradition of Honecker. The problems begin at the Union level, although there are no political or legal reasons why Moscow should provide shelter for a German citizen who did not even emigrate or flee his country, but was actually kidnapped from it.

Moral considerations? One does not abandon one's former allies in distress? Son of a bitch, but our son of a bitch? In this case the Kremlin leadership continues to identify itself with the former East German regime. This stance by Moscow makes one wonder whether the Soviet Union is really prepared to bury the past and start becoming a state committed to the rule of law.

One can argue whether the German Democratic Republic was an illegitimate state, but since the moment of German unification German justice alone can decide the fate of a German citizen under formal investigation. It is not up to Moscow to decide whether Honecker is to be tried for his order to plant mines and automatic guns on the border dividing East and West Germany. Is there any justice if enlsited men who opened fire on people trying to break through what was the world's most horrible border, face trial, while the man who had ordered them to do so is being kept away from justice?

the builders of the Berlin Wall

As diplomats and politicians are busy hunting for Honecker, the Communist regime's other wolf – Marcus Wolf, the veteran head of the East German intelligence – voluntarily surrendered to the authorties, was promptly released on bail and now feels quite secure and comfortable.

Lawyers have debated for a long time trying to find formal charges that could be brought against the former head of the Intelligence Department of the East German Ministry of State Security better known as Stasi. There is no evidence allowing Wolf to be connected with the death of any people. There is no evidence implicating Wolf in the East German sheltering of terrorists from Rota Armee Fraktion responsible for the death of dozens of people.

Ironically, Wolf can now count on German justice alone and on Germany's commitment to law which makes it impossible to sentence Wolf on frame-up charges. If lawyers conclude that Wolf cannot be tried for having been the master spy of East Germany, while thousands of his agents live happily tasting the fruits of unification, Wolf will have nothing to fear. Justice needs irrefutable evidence. The problem is where to find such evidence. The Guillaume affair provides a characteristic example. 18 years ago West German counterintelligence did not arrest Guillaume, an East German mole in the immediate entourage of Chancellor Brandt, for a whole year after it had discovered that Guillaume was a spy. The problem was that the West German counterintelligence lacked evidence. Until his recent meeting with the then head of the Federal Department of the Defence of the Constitution, Wolf was unable to understand why Guillaume was not arrested immediately after he was discovered.

It is clear that the Germans will not forget the principles of justice and law, no matter how badly Marcus Wolf's former counterparts want to take revenge on him for their own blunders and Stasi successes.

While lawyers debate legal intricacies involved in the cases of Honecker and Wolf, the witchhunt is intensifying in the "new federal states," as the former Democratic Republic is now called. Each day brings

Honecker (right) and Wolf (left): Will they ever be able to toast with champagne their escape from German justice?

news about the exposure of new politicians and officials as Stasi agents and informers. However, the accusations of collaboration with Stasi often have little grounds, while the accusers seldom bother to provide evidence. Although such cases never go to court, an accusation of a Stasi past is a most convenient way to get rid of a political opponent and silence other people whose past may be as compromising as of the victims'.

After lengthy debates the Berlin Chamber of Deputies finally decided that each of its 241 members was to undergo two rounds of investigation on their possible official or unofficial cooperation with Stasi. The verdict is passed after all materials have been studied. At the same time, 150 Bundestag deputies representing both ruling and opposition parties, refused to submit themselves to the humiliating questioning.

Dmitry Pogorzhelsky,
our own correspondent
BONN

Photo from Der Spiegel (Germany)

Pirates or partners?

Following the diamond rush

Some time ago an Arab bought a diamond in Zaire for $200. When he safely brought the stone to Switzerland he was delighted to discover that his possession was worth $18 million. However, things are not always so easy in the diamond world. The Soviet diamond trade association *Almazyuvelirexport* once offered for sale a 55-carat diamond at the price of $10,000 a carat. The market refused to pay more than $6,500 a carat. The stone was not sold on that condition. Now the price is down to $4,500 a carat.

Crammed markets

The Soviet participation in the selling of rough diamonds is mainly determined by agreements with the firm De Beers Centenary. According to this agreement the Soviet Union can sell through the London-based central diamond sales firm of De Beers approximately one fourth of all diamonds on the world market, which, by the way, corresponds to the share of the Soviet reserves of "physical diamonds." Actually, nothing compels *Almazyuvelirexport* to fill one fourth of the De Beers world market. The Soviet Union is free to sell one or five percent, or nothing at all and compete with De Beers selling diamonds on the side. But will such trade really be profitable?

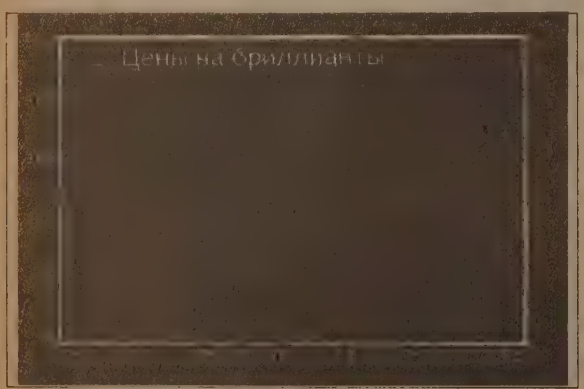
The diamond market is very limited. The average annual turnover is just over four billion dollars. It is dangerous to believe that one can make money out of nothing on the diamond market. For example, the annual turnover of the cosmetics market is $87 billion. The share of diamond exports in the overall Soviet export amounted to no more than 0.7 percent annually. This means that the export of diamonds has not played any serious role for the USSR.

It is necessary to admit, however, that experts are holding Russian diamonds in a great esteem, first and foremost for their jewelry properties. The appearance on the market of cheap artificial diamonds for industrial purposes is making the owners of natural diamonds forget about competition and start consolidating. This applies first of all to Russia and De Beers.

What is De Beers

Diamond trade started in the British capital 350 years ago. Since then the diamond business has lived through many a crisis. Prices soared when European monarchs developed a passion for diamonds and dropped when cheap stones from Brazil or South Africa appeared on the market. South African businessmen were the first to contemplate the formation of a regulated diamond market. Cecil John Rhodes and then the Oppenheimer clan began to control the entire diamond production. In 1924 Ernst Oppenheimer suggested a new concept for the diamond business: to keep the market stable it was necessary to limit the market supply of diamonds and bring it into conformity with demand. In addition, it was necessary to have one channel of diamond sales. That was how the London Diamond Syndicate was born. Independent producers united under one umbrella and decided to create a reserve of diamonds at the central base in order to regulate supply and demand and keep the highest prices possible.

However, it took almost forty years before the desired stability was achieved on the diamond market in the 1950s. This stability was reached not without Soviet participation. In 1959 Oppenheimer signed the first contract with the USSR on the selling through the central De Beers organization of a small consignment of



The dynamics of diamond prices and diamond trade on the world market

diamonds worth £ 85,000. By the end of last year diamond deals had amounted to £ 967 million.

Today, over 80 percent of all diamonds sold in the world is sold through De Beers. Further growth is unprofitable, because, first, most diamonds appearing on the uncontrolled market had been mined by private miners with whom it is difficult to agree on sales levels and prices, and second, the absence of a complete monopoly allows the company to be more precise in determining world prices. By the way, the agreement allows the Soviet Union to sell diamonds on the side. In particular, this makes it possible for *Almazyuvelirexport* to get an increase in the prices of Soviet diamonds sold through De Beers, in case the average market prices of the on-the-side trade are higher than those of De Beers.

A professional's opinion

Gerard. M. Ralfe, director of the sales organization and De Beers Centenary with which the Soviet government concluded a one billion dollar contract last July, is a professional in the diamond business. He kindly agreed to answer some questions from *New Times*.

NT. What do you think about the situation on the diamond market in connection with the changes in the Soviet Union?

G.R. Fortunately, I have no alarming information. The company is receiving new consignments of diamonds normally, including those from the USSR.

NT. Are you making any attempts to establish contacts with the new administration of Russia?

G.R. Yes, such contacts have been established, both in Moscow and London. We understand that the role of Russia on the diamond market has drastically changed and become a decisive one. At the meetings at De Beers and in Moscow I felt that the Russian authorities understood the significance of centralized policies on the diamond market.

NT. Do you think Russia and De Biers will sign any agreements?

G.R. I think so. After all De Beers controls 50 percent of the rough diamond reserve, while Russia controls only 25...

NT. 35 according to your experts...

G.R. Yes, that's right. 35 according to our estimates, not Soviet ones. In this context the consolidation of efforts of both sides will provide the foundation for a dynamic and mutually profitable cooperation. Production of diamonds is no danger, what is dangerous, though, is over-production of diamonds and the resulting destabilization of the market. In its time De Beers, mindful of its responsibility to the partners in the syndicate, was closing down its mines in 1932 to 1944 without producing a carat, but keeping the market stable. The actual deposits of diamonds do not determine the possible share of diamonds.

NT. Does this mean that diamond trade should go through De Beers only?...

G.R. Naturally, there may be attempts to set up an alternative diamond market out of London. This is a difficult task, because London is the internationally-renowned centre of the diamond trade. And it is also the most profitable channel of trade. This way is possible, but it will hardly be effective.

NT. Is it not more profitable to sell fine diamonds?

G.R. Speaking of the finishing of diamonds and the selling of fine diamonds, only South Africa has approached this of all major diamond producers. However, in South Africa the processing industry is heavily subsidised by the government. The situation in other countries is no better. For example, I have information that a large amount of unsold fine diamonds has accumulated in Moscow. They are worth exorbitant sums of money, but there is no prospect of selling them for what they are worth. Had the diamonds been sold in the form of "physical diamonds" the profit would have been obvious. People in the Soviet Union still cannot understand the significance of such factors as the rate of the turnover of capital.

NT. Are you optimistic about the prospects for the diamond market?

G.R. Absolutely optimistic. Our commodity is a luxury. It must make people happy, not upset them.

Following the world experience

Speaking to De Beers leaders and experts as well as with the Soviet personnel working in Great Britain, it is easy to understand that De Beers is not altruistic in its actions. First, the firm gets a commission, free on all operations. But isn't this something that any mediator would do? Second, the establishment of an alternative market, in Moscow for instance, will require so much money we cannot afford paying. De Beers is spending $100 million a year on advertising alone, and even more on transportation, security and employment of experts. It could be possible to create an industry which would finish all Soviet "physical diamonds" allowing the USSR to sell fine diamonds only. Theoretically, this is the best model for making profits. In realjty, though, there is an important factor that makes this way impossible – the Soviet jewelry industry. It works according to the state plan and almost does not react to the changes on the diamond market. I think Gerard M. Ralfe was right when he mentioned fine diamonds accumulating in Moscow. The problem is that unlike other industries in the USSR, the jewelry industry requires only top-grade raw materials and no one knows what is to be done with lower-grade diamonds.

One more thing to consider is that the market of fine diamonds is different from the market of rough diamonds. While the Soviet Union enjoys a respectable position on the latter, it may not be allowed to enter the former. Selling through De Beers for several years already, the Soviet Union does not fulfill its quotas. Sometimes attempts are made to sell a handful of diamonds on the side for prices higher than the world average, but in this case the losses usually equal the profits. Besides profits, the USSR also loses trust. Some recent machinations of Soviet diamond dealers in Brussels might have touched off a scandal, and the sum involved was a modest $20 million.

Today Russia with its 25 percent of the world diamond reserve is a deserving partner. It will remain such until it chooses to create confusion on the diamond market. In this case the two sides may turn into warring diamond superpowers. Will the Russian treaty benefit from it? Hardly.

Sergei Babusenko,
our own correspondent
LONDON

MORALS AND LAW

An informer's psychology

Valentin Petrushin,
D.Sc.(Pedagogy)

The eternal Russian choice – "to tap" in the sense of informing authorities against somebody or to exchange information by tapping on the wall of a prison cell – acquires a new, democratic dimension

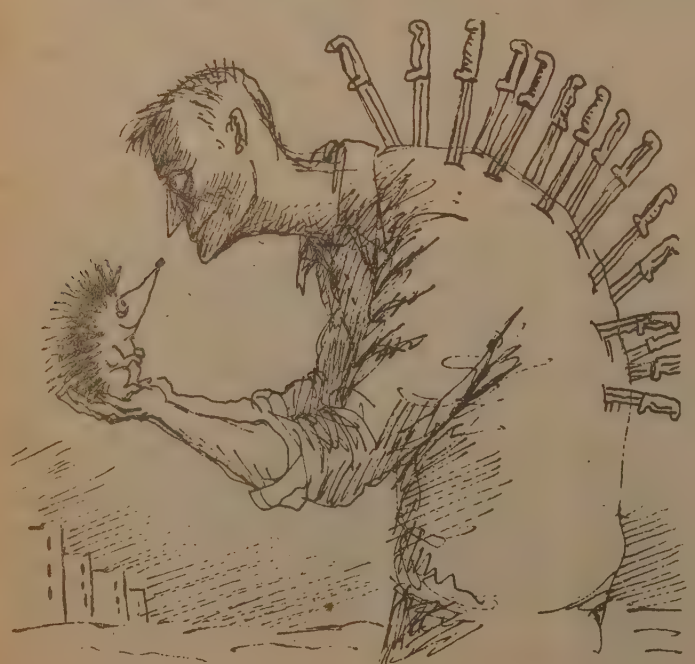
The Russian word "to tap" meaning "to inform against somebody" has come, evidently, from prison life – prisoners communicate by tapping in a way resembling the Morse code.

In Russia where from the times of Ivan the Terrible, Asian conservatism and European progressism have been interwoven, the so called "tappers," i.e., informers and sneaks, have been the salient feature of social life. Its weakness and underdevelopment, as well as the weakness of moral regulators and the habit of considering the state service and state treasury as a source of income, rendered the institute of informers designed to expose social vices absolutely indispensable. This is what S.Solovyov, a prominent Russian historian, wrote to this effect: "Having founded the Senate charged with the duty of administering justice, prosecuting unfair judges and informers, Peter ordered it to elect as the supreme supervisor a smart and kind person regardless of his social status who should secretly supervise all matters, find out about cases of unfair administering of justice and taxation and, having learned about an act of injustice, summon the culprit before the Senate regardless of the position he occupies. He must have under his authority provincial supervisors and supervisors attached to every branch of administration."

Peter the Great also instituted Supreme Procurator's supervision over the Church having obliged the Synod to report to the Tsar on what the parsons learnt from the parishioners at the confession. He used to say in answer to protests of the clergy that there is nothing bad in it since things of that kind serve the state and its strenthening, all the more so that the Church pursues the same aim – prosperity of the Russian land...

This was one more manifestation of the Russian monarchs' tradition – to build a strong state by suppressing personal freedom.

Two centuries later Lev Tolstoy raised his voice against the methods resorted to by Peter. He believed that a state is strong precisely because of the freedoms of its subjects. Yet, as a result of the construction of "developed socialism," every other clergyman to whom people confided their most intimate secrets became an overt or a covert KGB agent.



Drawing by Victor Bogorad

Appearence of the institution of "tappers" (informers) was connected with a peculiarity of totalitarian regimes – a functionary's or any other employee's well-being depends not on the results of his activity but on his relations with his boss. This breeds, on the one hand, flattering and servility and, on the other, encourages advancing reports on the work done which would please the boss. Therefore, more often than not, functionaries on the local level send "upwards" not the adequate information but that which their superiors expect from them. It was customary in some Eastern despotic regimes to poor melted lead into throats of those who had brought evil news, or to chop their heads off. Even now knowledge of this custom makes functionaries embelish their accounts.

However, authorities can't manage without reliable information, if only because of the peril its absence poses for their position. Services of secret informers become absolutely indispensable in preventing attempts on rulers' life and coups d'état. Egyptian pharaoes, Chinese emperors, Arab sheikhs, Russian tsars and French kings – all leaders of absolutist regimes including communist ones – couldn't do without informers.

Although the practice of informing is denounced thoughout the entire civilized world and those who agree to cooperate with secret police services may guess that they are on a par with figures like Cain and Iago, there are always people who are ready to do so. Why? We will not touch upon cases when one becomes an informer being seduced with a large remuneration or forced by blackmail. Let us discuss the case of the so called "well-wishers" who inform disinterestedly, without even counting on remuneration.

... A totalitarian system with its hard regulation of all spheres of life can exist only if people are constantly reproduced with the corresponding mentality; such a mentality is formed in authoritarian families under the pressure of the system.

In such families imitating a totalitarian system of relations between superiors and inferiors the parents are always convinced of their infallibility, that they are always right, while their children's duty is to obey their will. Regulations and restrictions imposed by them are of a peremptory character; their children's natural feelings and impulses are suppressed as a rule – "Do as I say because I said so." This sort of upbringing, when the parents appropriate all rights of their children, results in the latter growing up devoid of self-confidence and poorly disposed to friendliness. The underappreciation by the parents becomes the child's own low self-esteem, yet the feelings a person experiences towards himself tend to be transferred to others. He begins to lay blame for his misfortunes on those around him. In his neighbour he sees evil rather than good.

Besides, a child brought up in an authoritarian family which subjects him to undeserved humiliations and insults, unconsciously develops a desire to overcome the inferiority complex fostered in him by his parents. This may be coupled with a will for power regarded as an ability to influence the surrounding world. And if such a person happens to be sufficiently strong and gifted he can build a successful career, which, somehow, doesn't necessarily make him happier, since the true reason for his or her sad emotional experiences lies not in external conditions but in the very person. But if one is not sufficiently talented his will for power, his vindictive desire for a revanche may result in such forms of self-assertion as reporting against one's neighbour and colluding with the powers-that-be. Having failed to assert himself professionally, one begins to belittle the merits of those whom he envies. The more one is tortured by his envy for others' happiness and welfare, the more venomous and crushing his reports become.

People are often ready to feel compassion for a close friend in need or trouble, but his success may become unbearable to them. Therefore humility is sometimes defined as a respectful attitude to others' envy. Common people may feel compassion, but, as Apostle Paul has said, only angels can experience joy for others. However, the latter are rare on this earth.

Children who have been maltreated by their parents enjoy tormenting animals. For some strange reason, watching them suffering alleviates their own psychic torment caused by humiliation and an inferiority complex. A remote similarity is observable between this phenomenon and one's watching and perceiving a scenic tragedy thus experiencing a cathartic discharge of psychological tension. An envious informer experiences unavowed satisfaction at the sight of his victims' sufferings and his feelings are probably akin to those experienced by a child tormenting an animal.

An altruistically-minded person feels joy doing good for his neighbour. His self-appreciation grows still higher when he is heartily thanked. As for an envier who becomes an informer, he feels joy because he sees his power when doing others evil. Religious people say in such cases that a person like that is possessed by devil or that he is overcome by evil. An informer is proud of his secret power and this also enhances his self-appreciation, in a negative sense, however.

Charismatic leaders are loved and sincerely admired. Demons of evil are feared and hated, but the negative energy they issue nonetheless does not cease to be energy and a motive force initiating social processes.

In authoritarian families children are kept in awe of their parents. When they grow up such people often transfer these feelings on bodies and symbols of power. It is even easier because leaders of totalitarian regimes exude a secret and menacing charm mentioned by those who were closely acquainted with Napoleon, Hitler, and Stalin. Even such shrewd and talented people as M.Bulgakov, K.Paustovsky, K.Simonov were unable to resist the latter's hypnotic power. Those who are in close contact with the powers-that-be feel terror mixed with admiration and love mixed with hatred. A triumphant tyrant is loved and admired. A fallen tyrant is mercilessly trampled upon and defamed.

Irrational fear, uncountable for and unyielding to analysis, encourages "children" of totalitarian regimes to worship blindly any power, right wing or left wing. Masochistic licking of the boot ready to trample you down any minute was the experience of many thousands of those who witnessed the show-trials of prominent men of science and culture in the 1930s and 1940s. Those who were the first to salute the putschists on the memorable days last August probably experienced something of the kind. Thus both those who applauded to the putschists yesterday and those who write reports on "putschist sympathyzers" today serve, as it turns out, different sides of the same totalitarian medal. These are the people whom destiny has not favoured with the ability to rise above the vileness of the passing epoch.

Statistics for fun

It came to be known after the fall of the GDR regime that every tenth resident of the country worked for the East German security service, i.e., "tapped." In one of its recent publications, *New Times* extrapolated this figure for the Soviet Union and found that about 30 million people cooperated with the KGB! But a journalist from Rybinsk disproved our calculations – there are by no means more than 100 "free-lance" KGB informers in his town with the population of 300,000. Consequently, on the territory of the former USSR there are only 100,000 of those with whom it's better not to be sincere. This even inspires hope...

Once in the winter of 1880, F.Dostoyevsky asked A.Suvorin, an avowed monarchist and owner of a reactionary newspaper *Novoye Vremya*, what he would have done if he had overheard someone in the street saying that he had just wound up an infernal machine to explode the Tsar's residence. Would he have gone to the palace to warn about the explosion? Would he have gone to a police station to have the plotter arrested? "No, I wouldn't" answered Suvorin who more than once had assured his contemporaries of his devotion to the throne and the Fatherland.

And how, dear reader, would you have acted in this situation? You who consider yourself a liberal, an intellectual and a person devoid of prejudices? And what do you think Dostoyevsky's answer was? – "I wouldn't have either"...

Later Dostoyevsky enumerated all reasons which might have forced him to report to the police about the plot. These reasons were quite substantial and well-grounded. He wrote: "Then I considered the reasons which wouldn't have allowed me to do that. These are rather insignificant. I am simply afraid I may pass for an informer... The liberals wouldn't have forgiven me that. They would have exhausted me and driven to despair."

On the days immediately after defeat of the putsch our present liberals, unlike those who had lived a century ago, appealed to the citizens through mass media calling upon them to report on officials' behaviour during the putsch. "The country must know its 'heroes'," they said.

Whereas in a totalitarian state the reasons for informing lied in unreliability of the feed-back in and closed character of the state system, the appearance of the institution of informers in a democratic society with its ideas of pluralism may be explained by the plurality of social worlds in which one and the same person has to live. A situation when a person who sincerely defends the interests of one social group turns out to be a traitor in regard to those of another, is called a loyalty conflict by sociologists. Its classical example in the Soviet history is the case of notorious Pavlik Morozov.

The August events also furnish a lot of examples of such conflicts. Thus the Soviet Army officers who defended the Russian White House during the putsch and supplied the leaders of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet with information have, in the opinion of the democratically minded, committed a noble act. Yet for their former commanders they are informers and traitors who have violated the oath and their orders.

Those who, with the best of intentions (like restoration of justice or strengthening of state power) call upon citizens to report on their acquaintances' "incorrect" behaviour must bear in mind that apart from official and formal laws stated in the Constitution and codes of all kinds, there exist also unwritten rules and informal conventions based on interpersonal relations. Their violation does not befit decent people.

...A sociological experiment was carried out among policemen in a small American town. They were asked if they would submit a report on a colleague who had stolen 500 dollars from a detained drunkard. They were also asked if they would give evidence against their colleague if the detainee subsequently submitted a formal complaint. Only one of the several dozen policemen polled answered both questions in the affirmative – he was a novice. All other policemen realized that perjury is illegal and a false witness might be sacked, yet they were also aware that every informer would be ostracized even by those who condemned stealth. The work of policemen requires mutual understanding in the face of danger. More than that, any policeman may fall victim to an investigation; many of them have to come into contact with the criminal world for professional reasons and resort at times to illegal use of force. Under such circumstances they must defend each other from being constantly accused of bribery and unfairness...

Psychological damage caused to a group by an informer makes those people who feel they are secretly surveyed suspicious and they stop trusting each other. Weakening the solidarity of a group, an informer encroaches on such universal human values as faith, hope, and love, which results in feeling unprotected and helpless before the blows of fate, which under totalitarian regimes assumes the form of dull and soulless power. This is why informers are despised and ostrasized both in prison cells and in society; however, they may disappear only in an open democratic society in which those who have inclination for informing will understand that the witches they are hunting for are in fact not among their neighbours but in their own psyche. And these have been let in there by their own parents – or by those who have assumed their role...

■

The Unión of Small Enterprises of the USSR and Russia along with the Soviet National Committee of the World Assembly of Small and Middle Enterprises (WASME)

will hold the 5th International Conference of small and middle enterprises in Moscow on November 13-16

The chief objectives of the Conference is to promote cooperation among enterprises, to broaden the access to new technologies, to financial and technical resources, improve interaction between small and large enterprises, deepen international cooperation and develop the information network.

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TheWorldPaper

In the present economic chaos it is probably not so bad that the output of agrochemical industry, particularly of pesticides, has dropped. The farmers who use excessively this means of fighting insects might learn from Indonesia's experience – let other insects deal with them rather than kill them with poisonous substances

The only good insect is a dead insect

For millennia, insects have competed with humans for the planet's bounty. With the invention of pesticides, it seemed as if humans had gained the upper hand in this struggle. But now mankind's chemical warfare against insects is proving to be very expensive, both economically and ecologically.

Integrated pest management (IPM), an innovative idea that relies on "good insects" to control "bad" ones, was first studied in the 1950s, but for the last three decades has been frequently scoffed into the "radical eco-fringe."

Recently, some regional newspapers and international magazines reported under the guise of a humour story about a man in India who drank pesticide to kill a fly he had swallowed inadvertently. He nearly died. This case is neither funny nor unusual to anyone who has worked with rural populations in Asia, as I have. For twenty years, some of the most potent poisons known to man have been aggressively marketed as "plant medicine" by the chemical industry. A recent World Health Organization (WHO) estimate places the annual number of agrochemical poisonings worldwide at 25 million.

The pesticide industry plays on farmers' and governments' fears to keep everyone addicted to the use of pesticides and indeed helps create and reinforce humans' seemingly innate "bug-stomping" urge. Macho battle language is everywhere apparent in the war against pests. Even the names of agrochemical products – Matador, Ambush, Dragnet, Ripcord, Kiltop, Target – reinforce the mentality that "the only good bug is a dead bug."

But with environmentalism now in fashion, it is encouraging to see that Indonesia, the third largest rice producer and one of the most densely populated countries in the world, has escaped the pesticide headmill and made ecologically sound IPM its national crop protection policy.

In 1986, a presidential decree banned the use of 57 pesticides. In the two years that followed, the government was able to cut farmers' subsidies for pesticides and save the country millions of dollars. Today, rice production is up and more than 100,000 farmers are trained annually in IPM field-management methods. The nation that in the 1970s was the world's largest rice importer is now self-sufficient and the disastrous outbreaks of rice's main insect nemesis, the brown plant hopper, has all but disappeared. Here's how it happened.

The basic idea has to do with the number of trophic, or feeding, levels managed in any intensified agricultural production system. Crops or plants, the lowest trophic level, feed on sunlight and water. Bacteria, fungi, herbivorous insects and parasites that feed on the plants are the second trophic level. The animals that feed on those become the top, or third, trophic level. IPM is about managing all these levels properly so that the second level does not grow out of control and devour the crop.

In temperate climates of the developed north, when herbivore populations swell they can be simply killed off by chemicals. This seems to work as long as Darwin's principles of evolution don't succeed in helping the incredibly adaptive insect create generations of new, pesticide-resistant insects.

Unfortunately, agriculturalists assumed that in order to double production levels in the Third World, they simply needed to convince farmers to use more pesticides. Faithful to this philosophy, development assistance agencies and national governments, under political

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pressure from growing populations, dutifully created program after program designed to push pesticides.

The pesticides, together with chemical fertilizers, succeeded in killing some pests, but they also killed the insects' predators which provided good natural control of the pests. The result was incredible: insect populations grew like investments – they followed compound interest laws, but their cycle was weekly, not annual.

Imagine the delight of a money-market manager if the yield of a previously slow-accruing financial account suddenly jumped from 1 percent to 15 percent in six weeks. This kind of statistical jump is exactly what happened to the brown plant hopper population when rice was treated with so-called broad spectrum insecticides (which kill a broad range of insects). With their egg nests tucked safely away inside the impregnable stalks of the rice itself and their voracious enemies exterminated by insecticides, the balance of control was tipped in favour of pests. What was previously a minor pest became a threat to 70 percent of the rice fields in Java.

This pesticide-induced population explosion, eloquently termed "resurgence" by the government, helped establish Indonesia as the largest rice importer in the world during the late 1970s. Pouring more insecticides on the fields was like pouring gasoline on a raging fire. Indonesia quickly devoured 20 percent of the worldwide market of rice insecticides.

Plant breeders from national centres backed by the International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines delayed the inevitable by coming up with a plan to breed rice stock from the Indian subcontinent into Southeast Asian high-yielding lines. Although the quality of the resulting rice was not appealing to local tastes, at least the brown plant hoppers hated it too, and their population initially declined.

During the mid-1980s, scientific evidence proved that the brown plant hopper was prevailing. Unfortunately, the regimen of pesticides only served to produce new generations of pests which thrived on the new plants, killing off the more finicky pests. It was this overwhelming evidence that finally prompted the Indonesian government to ban the use of most broad-spectrum pesticides on rice.

But that's just the beginning of the story of IPM. Because the use of rice pesticides is so widespread, IPM operates on a local, not national, scale. Farmers must become ecological experts capable of breaking their pesticide addiction and learn to manage complex ecosystems. The challenge was even more daunting when one recalls that the only legal vehicle for extending this practice to the countryside was the very same bureaucracy that had prided itself on turning farmers into pesticide addicts in the first place.

Now, across Sumatra, Java and Suylavesi, more than 100,000 rice farmers have been trained and are now IPM experts. For the three most crucial growing months, they spend one day a week monitoring their fields, raising helpful insects in "insect zoos," conducting experiments on small plots of land, and gathering plants and insects in order to create analyses that guide weekly field management.

These IPM farmer field schools, as they are known, have been conducted in over 3,000 villages. In one rice-growing village, IPM methods stopped a 60,000-square hectare insect outbreak, thwarting at least one company-sponsored plan for a chemical solution.

As more scientific evidence accumulates in Indonesia, the critics of IPM are slowly fading and other countries in the region are watching Indonesia's program closely. Farmers are gaining concrete and immediate returns for ecological conservation. As yields increase, costs decrease, and farmers once again take control of their fields.

Russ Dilts

JAKARTA,
Indonesia

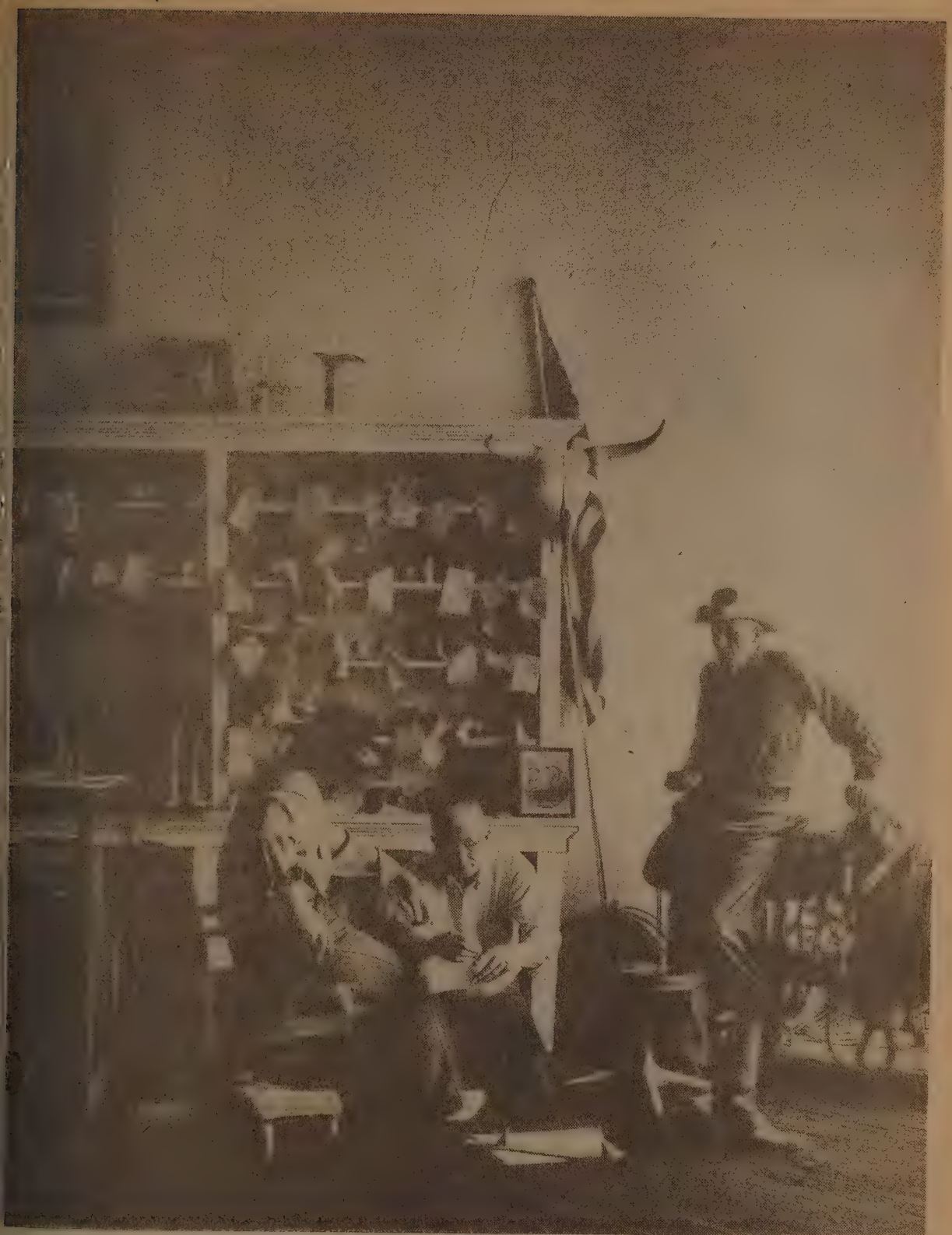
■

When the Suharto government came to power five years ago, one of its priorities was to make Indonesia self-sufficient in rice production. With a growing population, Indonesia suffered from massive shortfalls in rice production.

The previous government at first tried to persuade its people that the country would have enough food if people would eat other staple foods, such as corn, sago (from the sago palms), casava and potatoes. But Indonesians were already hooked on rice. Even sago,

corn and cassava eaters now prefer to eat rice rather than their old staple foods.

Enormous sums of hard-earned foreign exchange were allocated to buying millions of tons of rice each year. The main ingredient in the government's massive rice production campaign initiated a few decades ago was on the heavy use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides. For many years the program succeeded and Indonesia stopped importing rice altogether - but at what cost?



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Welcome to the sex clinic

Anatoly Rubinov

The number of women with shining eyes has increased markedly over the years of the sexual revolution

A distinguishing feature of the sexual revolution is that sexologists' clientele – previously limited to men (some of whom were dragged in by their desperate wives) – has now come to include women bent on making up for what they have missed in life and what is rumoured to be a delightful experience. Previously, frigid women sought expert advice and help only on extremely rare occasions, chiefly out of curiosity: they wanted to find out what was it that their sexy women-friends were so enthusiastic about, to the point of doing crazy things like divorcing their husbands, abandoning their children and plunging into the unknown which could often spell trouble. Many women, both married and divorced, were embarrassed by A.M. Svyadosh's book, *Female Sexopathology*, which was for the most part a big hit with men, of course. The medical book became a best seller. Men were prepared to pay twenty times its nominal price.

Continued. For previous installments, see issues 41-43

Any commodity in short supply automatically comes into fashion, and women are notorious fashion mongers. Eager to keep up with the times, women hunted for the popular book. Many managed to acquire it for the publisher's price and were happy about buying "cheap" what others paid through the nose for. No woman misses a chance to show off her new dress, even if there is no occasion for it. Some women go to work in an evening dress and then strut about the office with the air of a high-society lady, as if a limousine were waiting outside to take her to a foreign embassy or a theatre. If a woman gets hold of a book which others are looking for in vain, she feels like leafing through it, at least. That was how frigid women swallowed the bait. They read the book and discovered, to their utter dismay, that they had missed what life was worth living for. They pondered over the words "sexual frigidity" and tried to find out about Dr. Svyadosh. It turned out that he lived in Leningrad. The more active women, who started having misgivings about their lives, went to Leningrad and "tracked down" Svyadosh, who worked in Rubinstein Street at that time. The frankest ones shared their misgivings with the doctor. The doctor was serious, he did not ridicule naive questions, and got down to treatment without further ado.

A GUM store salesgirl went to Leningrad for a couple of days. Just in case, she took a box of cosmetics along in order to bribe her way into the doctor's reception room, if necessary (cosmetics are now hard to get in this country). She was to be received, and there was no need to bribe anyone. The salesgirl returned to Moscow a passionate woman. She sensed her new-found sensuality when still in Leningrad, and wished she had taken along a gift for a man. After all, she couldn't very well present the doctor with French lipstick or a jar of English eyeshadow! So she bought a bottle of expensive brandy and made it to Dr. Svyadosh's clinic shortly before it closed. The doctor had already gone home by then, and the girl left the carton with a nurse. Whether the gift actually reached the doctor is anybody's guess.

Back in Moscow, she felt like someone just released from jail – all the pleasures of life were hers to enjoy. The girl was well-to-do and could afford to buy good food, which is in great shortage now. She had always dressed in the latest fashions, which were out of reach for the general public. Now the woman in her woke up to full-blooded life. She shifted the emphasis from good food and stylish clothes to what no money can buy.

The girl's aunt, a foodstore sales clerk, wondered at first what had gotten into her niece – she was so different from her usual self! She demanded exp-

lanations, and the girl told her everything. The aunt rushed to Leningrad at the first opportunity – and returned home in rather low spirits. "I've just wasted my life," she told her niece wistfully. "Oh, what a fool I was!" Those words were overheard by a lady fishing boat skipper who stayed with the neighbours. She interrupted her theatre-going, went to Leningrad, found Rubinstein Street there – and then, instead of returning to Moscow with its theatres, flew to Vladivostok with its seamen. Shortly thereafter, Professor Svyadosh received a heavy parcel containing canned fish, salmon and small jars of black and red caviar... The lady skipper enclosed a letter which was rife with exclamation marks: "Dear doctor! Thank you!!!"

The years of the sexual revolution opened the eyes of many women, who had not read the book *Female Sexopathology*, to the joys of love. They learned the truth about their nature from the "dirty" books and papers on sale in pedestrian underpasses. They proved an eye-opener to the women who had until then lived without a care in the world, and compelled them to stop and think, to seek a way out of their predicament. Without telling their women-friends anything, they sought out sexologists and were surprised by the fact that no surgical operation was required, that treatment was simple and easy – as a matter of fact, there was no course of treatment to go through. They saw the light at last. Over the years of the sexual revolution, the number of women with shining eyes has increased markedly in Moscow. Just take an escalator ride in the Moscow metro, and you'll see that only a few women are wrapped up in themselves, while most seek eye contact with men riding in the opposite direction. Their meaningful glances arouse men and distract them from their mundane preoccupations, i.e., how to get out of that office trouble, how to get rid of indigestion, and so on.

His better half will never know why he was so eager to make love to her before dinner and, afterwards, did not make the usual complaints about the dinner being too skimpy.

Other men grumbled, however, and found fault with their wives' cooking, although in their heart of hearts they realized that the wives had done nothing wrong. Quarrels broke out, the egotistical women accused their husbands of infidelity, the husbands shouted back at them, asking how could she expect him to sleep with a sloppy, gluttonous, fat, sweaty and garrulous creature like her.

A clever wife would put up with that on the assumption that while a woman's main weapons were kindness and beauty, she was not supposed to hurt a man's pride either by word or by a look. Also characteristic of a woman is wordly wisdom, although she is commonly believed to be less sagacious than man. She puts up with a lot because she believes in her star, and when she comes to the conclusion that her star is not lucky, she might tell her man, just in passing, that a colleague's husband has found a doctor who works wonders with intelligent, impressionable men like him. As to women, she may add, they needed no doctors because a woman is strong like a horse and always outlives a man. Just think, a woman's life expectancy is ten years longer than a man's; three men have died in my office, she might say to him, one after another because they did not take care of themselves, never went to see doctors, and never complained of their sufferings to anyone. There is nothing more dangerous than to suffer alone. She is being quite frank with him because she does not trust even her closest women-friends, and never discusses intimate matters – her family problems, for instance – even with her closest friend. Of course, she could tell her about a bargain she got, about the meal she cooked the day before, or about the deal she struck at the dry-cleaner's. But not a word about her private life, because she has many women-friends, but just one family and, in general, a family is a family... Why do women know everything? Isn't it amazing?

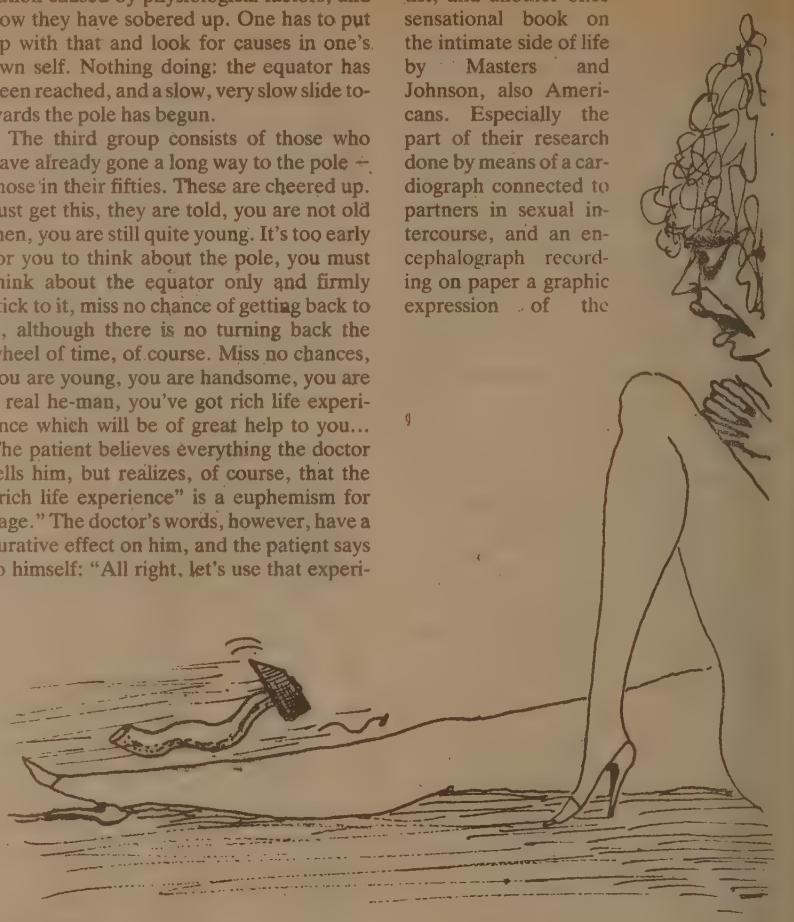
Sexologists labour under the delusion that they are the only ones to know all about the mysteries of sex. You should see a sexologist relaxing – on a beach, for instance. He never looks at anyone and never introduces himself. Like the singer Alla Pugacheva, he is sure that all people know him on sight. All right, Pugacheva is instantly recognized because she is often shown on television. But how could a whole crowd on the beach get to know a sexologist within a week of his arrival? He would tell anyone what he does for a living, and what parts of the human anatomy he inspects in his office – and before he knows it, his beach chair becomes the centre of attention. Vacationers offer him fresh newspapers, suggest a game of cards or chess. In the end they provoke him into talking shop and, in order to keep the ball rolling, synchronize their movements with his as he exposes now his back, now his belly to the sun. Men and women frankly discuss their most intimate problems with him to the whisper of the surf. By the end of his vacation, the doctor knows all about every bather's secret life, although the discussions have been about some third parties who have stayed behind under the northern skies. One can only marvel at the interviewers' knowledge about those third parties' intimate bedroom problems, at their eager inquisitiveness and at their meticulous attention to technical details. The doctor doesn't even try to catch them lying and never asks them where they got all this information about other people, or why they are so interested in other people's problems. While basking in the sun, with his eyes closed tight, the sexologist utters his recommendations, speaking slowly so as to make his point, and not even trying to glance at the woman who tells him enough about a relative of hers to suspect her of incest. Later, another seeker

of expert advice, a man this time, reveals such intimate details of his male friend's sex life that one can't help wondering whether he has slept with that fellow. The "patients" pretend they have nothing to do with the cases they tell the doctor about, and the doctor pretends he believes them; in the meantime the latter gives treatment, and the former take it, and benefit enormously from the holidays thus spent (as do their relatives and friends).

It goes without saying, of course, that sexologists depend not only on seaside conversations for their knowledge of man's problems, although there are no official statistics to that effect. Experts complain that the State Committee for Statistics does not report the arithmetics of sexual disorders, which means that each doctor judges the situation by his own patients. Some are convinced that every third man has problems in bed, others set the proportion at one quarter, but all agree that the number of those unhappy about their sex life has increased after the sexual revolution: previously indifferent, men have woken up to the fun of sex and begun to fuss over it.

Even the more serious papers began to carry interviews with sexologists next to those with famous statesmen. *Argumenty i fakty*, the world's most popular paper, reports, now and then, controversial piquant facts about men of active age, and supports them with convincing arguments. Once the paper reported that fifty percent of divorces were due to "sexual failures, to one of the consorts' dissatisfaction or inadequacy." The paper named three groups of secret sufferers. The first group comprises young men aged 18 to 20, who have become disappointed in themselves before marriage or in the early days of married life. Surprisingly, the second group is the most populous one. It consists of men in the prime of life, aged 32 to 35, who have suddenly felt old and deprived of life's joys. Adult men, confident and strong, get panicky like schoolgirls who have failed their promotion exams. Sexologists give those men edifying talks. The patients, so virile by the look of them, sometimes burst into tears. This, however, is the most responsive category of patients. They promptly respond to what the doctor tells them: your fears of impending impotence are totally ungrounded, it's simply that the time of your real maturity has come; from now on you should take the joys of life more seriously and make the most of them instead of squandering what nature has endowed you with. Young fools cannot appreciate this any more than a drunk can appreciate the bouquet of a vintage wine which ought to be sipped, not gulped out of the bottle. The patients in their prime have a different explanation for their unexpected failures in bed: you see, after seven years of married life one inevitably "falls out of love" with his wife. Love was merely intoxication caused by physiological factors, and now they have sobered up. One has to put up with that and look for causes in one's own self. Nothing doing: the equator has been reached, and a slow, very slow slide towards the pole has begun.

The third group consists of those who have already gone a long way to the pole – those in their fifties. These are cheered up. Just get this, they are told, you are not old men, you are still quite young. It's too early for you to think about the pole, you must think about the equator only and firmly stick to it, miss no chance of getting back to it, although there is no turning back the wheel of time, of course. Miss no chances, you are young, you are handsome, you are a real he-man, you've got rich life experience which will be of great help to you... The patient believes everything the doctor tells him, but realizes, of course, that the "rich life experience" is a euphemism for "age." The doctor's words, however, have a curative effect on him, and the patient says to himself: "All right, let's use that experience." And he does, as best he can...



"Conventional" doctors, therapists and neuropathologists, who have an inkling of sexologists' new methods, tell their patients falling into each of these three categories that they should get more exercise, take vitamin pills and give up smoking. Some are prescribed "pick-me-ups," and those in the third group are sometimes recommended to take imported medicines. Doctors have no right to prescribe these medicines, because some fifteen years ago the Public Health Ministry forbade them to prescribe what is not to be found in the nearest pharmacy, and what the Ministry's pharmaceutical committee has not tested and approved for general use. Therapists and neuropathologists are convinced that salvation should be sought in exercise, a balanced diet and non-smoking. Besides that, they recommend sleeping in a well-ventilated bedroom. Many adult men have been convinced that a well-ventilated bedroom is the key to happiness.

Every sexologist worthy of the name perceives a little irony in all this. He has perused the *Kinsey Report*, the world-famous research effort by an American scientist, and another once sensational book on the intimate side of life by Masters and Johnson, also Americans. Especially the part of their research done by means of a cardiograph connected to partners in sexual intercourse, and an encephalograph recording on paper a graphic expression of the partners' physical ecstasy. Our sexologists know that the two American scientists hospitalize impotents with their wives, and offer single patients a temporary sex partner for the duration of the course of treatment. And she helps him to get well. Having learned about those "surrogate wives" of American single men, Moscow sexologists now insist that patients should come to see them along with their wives. The latter will help the doctor who will teach her to do what her muddle-headed husband is ignorant of. Even the top-notch sex clinic – G.S. Vasilchenko's laboratory – admits patients on the condition that they have a female assistant. The trouble with the men who have disgraced themselves is, however, that in their present condition they have a hard time finding a partner. The laboratory's doctors realize that this is a vicious circle which cannot be broken, they are prepared to look for compassionate women ready to cooperate out of the goodness of their hearts, but there is always the uncompromising public opinion which is certain to label such women as you know whom, and the medical institution as a brothel.

Drawings by Victor Bogorad

The honour of the "mad general"

Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko (1907-83), a Second World War veteran and a long-time member of the Communist Party, opposed the Soviet system in the 1960s. He fought for human rights and the rights of the Crimean Tatars. The system got revenge on him. Grigorenko was reduced to the ranks and then arrested. He was declared insane and put in a lunatic asylum and finally stripped of his citizenship

The last photograph of Pyotr Grigorenko with his wife

On the initiative of the chief military procuracy of the USSR a medical commission in St. Petersburg recently made a posthumous psychiatric examination of Pyotr Grigorenko. The conclusion, signed by the commission members, says that at the time of his human rights activity the general was mentally sane.

Prof. Modest Kabanov, head of the commission and director of the St. Petersburg Bekhterev Psychology and Neurology Research Centre, believes that in this way "the fact of abuses in Soviet psychiatry has been admitted for the first time legally."

"Until recently we revised diagnoses at the level of ethic commissions," says Doctor of Medecine Tatiana Dmitrieva, a member of the commission and director of the Serbsky Central Scientific Research Institute of Forensic Psychiatry. "We could give only appropriate recommendations to courts and local health protection bodies."

Under the existing law an examination can be ordered only by investigative or judicial bodies. Were it not for the initiative of the chief military procuracy, Pyotr Grigorenko would have been considered "insane" to this day.

In the opinion of Modest Kabanov, the leaders of Soviet psychiatric associations and societies did not have a particular desire to examine such cases in the past. Nor do they want to today. He does not rule out that after his commission made its findings public "these people will try somehow to disavow the attempts to restore justice," especially as "today it is much more advantageous for them to save their reputation than ascertain the truth."

Tatiana Dmitrieva heads the institute which declared Grigorenko "insane" 25 years ago. Having agreed to be a member of the commission, she also thought about the reputation of her institute. "And it is this reputation that demands scientific and civil honesty of each of us," she thinks. On reading the case of Pyotr Grigorenko a year ago, Dmitrieva doubted whether he was "really sick."

"The diagnosis that Grigorenko was insane is not simply a mistake," she said. "Abuses in psychiatry and the abuse of psychiatry were conditioned by the political system."

The system engenders appropriate types of people: obedient servants and dissidents. Modest Kabanov recalled that Solzhenitsyn was also examined by psychiatrists. "However, they found the courage not to make a false diagnosis," he added. "For several years Grigorenko was examined by different psychiatrists. Unfortunately, some of them were unable to resist the pressure of the state machine."

Pyotr Grigorenko wrote once: "The system under which you can hope only on the integrity and courage of doctors is worthless!"

Mark Levin
ST. PETERSBURG

From Pyotr Grigorenko's memoirs

On March 12 (1964 – **Ed.**) or 36 days after my arrest, I was brought in a Black Maria from the Lubyanka prison to the Serbsky institute (of forensic psychiatry – **Ed.**). My future doctor, Margarita Talze, asked me several biographical and a couple of very stupid political questions, and wrote down in my record: patient needs hospital examination. I felt smouldering hostility for the first time. Talze tried to discover something, constantly scribbled in her notebook, asking a lot of very stupid questions about my leaflets.

She literally wore me out by her dullness and failure to understand what I said. Not only did she understand moral values, she was simply unable to comprehend them. I tried to prove for hours that a man has no right to enjoy earthly blessings when the people around him live in poverty. Talze told me dozens of times: "It's none of your business." All my comments were assessed as the judgements of an insane man. She did not understand historical analogies either... When I referred to Chernyshevsky (a 19th-century Russian writer – **Ed.**), she wrote down in my record: "He compares himself with Chernyshevsky." When I referred to Lenin, she wrote down: "He compares himself with Lenin." The doctor lived in another mental dimension.

The conditions of a lunatic asylum, the complete lack of rights and of a real prospect for being released are the main terrible factors with which every man placed in a special psychiatric hospital is confronted. In these conditions people with an easily hurt psyche can quickly develop a mental disease, first of all suspicion of doctors, fear that one is treated deliberately with the aim of destroying one's normal psyche.

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

We follow with excerpts from that article. It is a shame that it was not made public right then, in 1956. However, books and manuscripts always find their readers sooner or later.

Prepared for publication by M.Golubovsky, D.Sc.(Biology), (St. Petersburg)

Introduced by *New Times* analyst **Rostislav Zolotaryov**

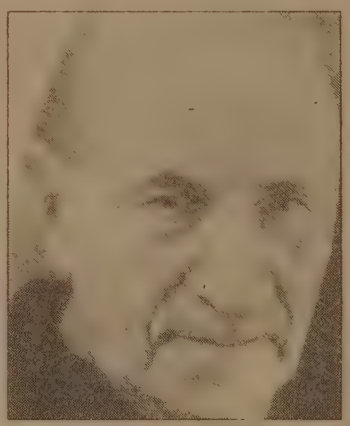
Now it is clear that works which, until recently, have been regarded as seditious will last our magazines for years. Unfortunately, only a small proportion has been published so far of the enormous heritage left by Alexander Lyubishchev, the evolutionist biologist, the philosopher, and the historian of science. Thanks to Daniil Granin's story *That Strange Life*, Lyubishchev's name became known to the reading public. In a preface to the recently published description of Lyubishchev's archives, the writer speaks about the "inner energy" of the scientist's heritage. "Its appeal lies not only in courage, but in intrinsic freedom and moral dignity... I don't know why this heritage is strangely tenacious of life. Maybe it is due to the system of views which constitute the integrity of Lyubishchev's philosophy. Or, perhaps, to his judgements being much more independent than ours today, for all our new-found freedom. I'd compare this with good architecture. Architecture differs from all the other arts in that it does not age with years but acquires new charm and beauty."

Dostoyevsky has left us his *Writer's Diary* which immerses the reader into the political atmosphere of 19th-century Russian society. Lyubishchev's scientific and publicistic heritage could provide the groundwork for a *Scientist's Diary*. No major development in science or on the cultural or political scene escaped Lyubishchev's attention. Upon reading almost any book or article, he made an abstract of it, accompanied by critical comments which sometimes developed into an essay in their own right.

The article "On the Meaning and Significance of the Hungarian Tragedy" was written in December 1956, right in the wake of the events in Hungary. I think it does credit to the Russian intelligentsia and deserves a proud place in the political history of Soviet society.

The Hungarian tragedy

Alexander Lyubishchev (1890–1972)



It is beyond doubt that the horrible Hungarian tragedy has already shaken the world. The shock is somewhat weaker than it could have been because crime against Hungary and crime against Egypt were committed simultaneously, although the two crimes, for all their apparent similarity, are not in the same class. In Egypt, we witness Britain and France going back to the methods of old imperialism (Israel has found itself in bad company there) and one can only marvel at Eden, with his superior intelligence and self-control, who behaves so stupidly. After all, even if he succeeds in Egypt, it is the United States that will reap where he has sown, to Britain's disadvantage. What we have in Hungary, on the other hand, is a relapse not merely into Stalin's policy (which would have been bad enough in itself) but into the policy of Nicholas I, and even worse than that. After all, Franz-Joseph could, with some reason, claim the role of the "legitimate" ruler of Austro-Hungary. As to Kadar, he cannot be regarded as a legitimate ruler from any point of view. First of all, old legitimism is inapplicable here, and second, it is unacceptable from the republican point of view because nowadays it is only a government elected by the people and having the support of the people that is considered legitimate. It is common knowledge that the Kadar government, far from having been elected by workers' councils (as Lenin's government was) has disbanded these councils and is now court-martialling and shooting workers for the possession of firearms. Besides that, a "legitimate" government calling in foreign troops to fight its own people, even if the latter are under a delusion, is unthinkable from the republican point of view. References to the Warsaw Treaty are positively absurd: under the Warsaw Treaty, foreign troops can intervene to protect a country against an attack by another great power, but by no means to suppress a worker and peasant uprising. Consequently, the use of foreign troops is to be denounced in principle.

The principle of the lesser evil comes in here, however. Using foreign troops is evil, of course, but in this case it served as a means of avoiding worse evil still. This attitude has been adopted by Yugoslavs, it seems, specifically by Kardelj, judging by his speech. As far as I can gather, his idea is as follows: the first invasion by Soviet troops (on October 23 or 24) was impermissible because they were used to suppress a purely popular movement; shortly after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, reactionary forces began to gain the upper hand in Budapest; those had to be suppressed in order to avoid the triumph of reactionary forces and a likely outbreak of a new world war. Therefore, Kardelj denounces the first intervention of Soviet troops but resigns himself to the second one, on November 4...

...The argument itself is fallacious: the need for the armed suppression of nationwide movements for the sake of the triumph of socialism is the principle of the permanent dictatorship of the proletariat, of revolutionary dictatorship in general. The great revolutions of the past (English, French) imposed revolutionary dictatorship in a certain stage; it was justified for the time being, just as the one-man dictatorship of the army commander or the dictatorship of a steamship skipper is. However, dictatorship always leads to abuses, as was the case in Britain (Cromwell's Drogheda) and France (the senseless Reign of Terror by Robespierre and Saint-Just). And if Thermidor in France can be loosely described as the work of the scheming big bourgeoisie, counterrevolution in Britain was carried out in spite of the strong and victorious republican army which had neither the will nor the leaders to oppose restoration.

A revolution is often likened to a surgical operation. A surgeon inflicts a wound on his patient, sheds his blood and often hurts him

in order to save him; in the same way, a revolution sheds blood for the purpose of doing the people good. Let us carry the analogy a bit further. Supposing a surgeon has removed the appendix or a tumour. Can there arise the danger of a counter-surgical operation, i.e. that of replacing the tumour or the appendix? There can, if (a) the surgeon is incompetent, (b) the surgeon has made a mistake (removed the whole of the thyroid gland, for instance), (c) the surgeon is a criminal.

Revolutions are referred to as the midwives of history. Have there ever been cases, however, of a newborn baby being forced back into its mother's womb? If a revolution achieves its intended aim, and just that, then counterrevolution is as impossible as counter-surgery or counter-gynecology. Now if a successful revolution is followed (as is usually the case) wide by dissemination of counterrevolutionary ideas among the people, this goes to show that revolutionaries have ceased to be revolutionaries and turned into a clique of tyrants. Today we hear talk that we have never had Stalinism, that fighting Stalinism is like fighting windmills. Actually, Stalinism is Marxism which has degenerated into gross despotism. Under Stalin, the party renounced Lenin's interpretation of unity as an alliance of people having different views but brought together by a common striving for socialism, and adopted its Stalinist policy of purging those deviating even slightly from the general line. Factionalism was eradicated, but although there were no factions, "cliques" were formed, some by the most convinced Stalinists. The creation of a broader front like our bloc of "Communists and non-party people" was of no help, either. In Hungary, the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party (which had been "purged" of the exposed "reactionary" elements by then) united into the Hungarian Working People's Party in 1948. It turned out, however, that other parties had not been liquidated in Hungary. The Hungarian Working People's Party had under it the People's Independence Front which comprised, apart from the HWPP, the Smallholders' Party (est. in 1929), the National Peasant Party (est. in 1939), the trade unions, the Union of Democratic Women and other societies and political organizations. Now it is common knowledge that actually the Rakosi-Gerö clique held undivided sway there and, despite such a broad front, horrible outrages were committed and all the organizations were downtrodden. Only puppets survived the purges of "reactionary" elements (to draw a parallel with the Black Hundred organizations of old, there had been quite a few workers there). A distinguishing feature of Stalinism is the isolation of the party's upper crust from the people. This caste, "clique", a new class of exploiters, is irreplaceable, irresponsible (they may be held liable only for betraying the leader of the clique or the clique as a whole) and tend to make their privileges hereditary... High salaries, isolation from the people, ignorance, lack of culture, immorality – all these "secrets" of the upper crust become known to the people despite strict censorship, and Furtseva was already asked at a factory about her income. Our aristocracy, or rather oligarchy, is steadily degenerating, and the most reactionary trends in science only benefit from that.

"We shall stick up for our Lysenko!" The true meaning of these words, uttered by A. Andreyev and echoed by a scientist who had once been anti-Lysenko, have been disclosed by the events in Hungary. Why "our Lysenko" – isn't he a non-Party man? Because Lysenko is loyal to the Stalinist clique and will fall only when the clique does. This is put on an ideological basis. "Michurin biology" is identified with materialism as an indispensable part of Marxism-Leninism, idealism in all its forms must be fought against (the resolution of the Council of Ministers Matskevich quoted in his speech). The Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences (meaning Lysenko) has distinguished itself in the struggle for materialism, consequently those who oppose Lysenko oppose materialism and are counterrevolutionaries. That Lysenko has caused the degradation of our agriculture does not matter; what matters is that he stands up for materialism. This is what Stalinism has gradually degenerated into and if, instead of the antithesis between "communism and fascism" the people and the intelligentsia are faced with that between "Stalinism (strikingly similar to fascism) and capitalism," the people will unhesitatingly opt for capitalism because a capitalist, for all his shortcomings, pays from his own pocket for his mistakes while our party bureaucrats are totally irresponsible. One cannot take seriously the "punishments" like reprimands or even "severe reprimands" which are promptly forgotten about if the "guilty" Communist is obedient and loyal enough. Strict adherence to the Stalinist system will ultimately lead to the collapse of socialism in all the Stalinist countries. Hopefully, the non-Stalinist socialist countries – China, Poland, Yugoslavia – will show the way to gradually replacing dictatorship with democracy. I am not entirely sure they will, though. China is too far away, I know too little about it; that is probably, and even certainly, a most prosperous country, but what puts me on the alert is its unconditional support for our intervention in Hungary. Yugoslavia denounces, though warily, much about our actions – the obviously perfidious deportation of Imre Nagy, in particular. I do not like the censure (by the ruling quarters) of Djilas: it looks as if in Yugoslavia, too, many mistakes have been made, although its regime is far better than ours, and science and art are free there. Gomulka is off to a good start but it is not clear so far whether or not he manages to cope with the orthodox opposition. Democratization is still in its early stages (the Popular Front puts forward its candidates, i.e. the very system which has failed to stop despotism in Hungary).

The popular uprising in Hungary is the first staggering blow to Stalinism on an international scale

It would be a mistake to say that the Soviet way of building socialism stems from national, local and historical specifics. The Stalin period is a gross distortion of socialism. In 1953, Beria and the MGB were renounced; in 1954, friendship with Yugoslavia was restored; the 20th Congress renounced Stalin (even though behind closed doors) – so far so good; but you cannot renounce Stalin without renouncing Stalinism, no one here ventures to do that, although the Hungarian revolution has shown that we have no option in the matter. Above, I have indicated four causes of a revolution, of which the first is the main one. The other main cause is Khrushchev's secret report at the 20th Congress (published abroad): it had a greater effect than all the propaganda speeches broadcast by the *Voice of America* and *Free Europe*. The suppression of the Hungarian uprising will not stop the onward movement, and if our leadership doggedly sticks to Stalinism, there will arise a serious danger of capitalism being restored not only in the People's Democracies, but in the Soviet Union as well.

What about the danger of World War III breaking out? Clearly, even if Mindszenty and other Right-wing figures had prevailed in Hungary, their triumph would not have triggered the third world war. Hungary would have withdrawn from the Warsaw Pact, but since the latter remained in force with regard to its other member states, Hungary's attack on Romania would have been ruled out. Even the withdrawal of East Germany from the Pact would not have caused a war. On the other hand, if we showed peaceableness, that would strengthen the position of peace forces throughout the world. We know full well, of course, that even a united Germany

would be unable to cope with us without US support, while in the US the odds would be in peace champions' favour. We know that NATO has begun to waver, and that Iceland has already demanded that the US troops be withdrawn from its territory because it was no longer afraid of the USSR. Politicians like Spaak have befriended us. Now Iceland no longer demands the withdrawal of American troops, and the Soviet-Belgian treaty, signed recently, has not been ratified by the Belgian parliament. Nixon, who has won the election by a slim margin thanks to Eisenhower's popularity can now say: "I have warned you that Soviet peaceableness is feigned, that wherever they feel that the ground is slipping from under their feet they will not hesitate to suppress resistance by force." The USSR has always maintained that socialism is built in compliance with the popular masses' will; actually, if the popular masses come out against socialist dictatorship, the Soviet government resorts to tanks and court-martials. The entire effort towards a relaxation of international tension, made with such great success over the past three years, has been reduced to nought. The planned trip to Sweden by Bulganin and Khrushchev has been called off by the Swedish government. The arms race will resume because the pro-Soviet elements in each country will no longer be able to adduce proof of the USSR's peaceableness. And so, in addition to everything else, by asserting that there is no such thing as Stalinism, we thus assume the responsibility for past crimes. Our words to the effect that the USSR has never perpetrated an aggression are so much at variance with historical facts (recall Finland, Rumania, the Baltic republics) that even progressives dismiss them as a downright lie. It is perfectly clear that Stalinists have gained the upper hand here or (which is quite probable) that even the more progressive figures like Khrushchev and Mikoyan just did not realize, while criticizing Stalin, that they were Stalinists, too. Malenkov and Zhukov are mysterious figures. Khrushchev and Bulgarian revealed the Stalinists in them during their visit to Britain where they were obviously riled by the Labour friendly critical remarks – and tactlessly showed it.

After the uprising in Hungary and our intervention there, the war danger has increased sharply, the arms race has no chance of slowing down (unless, of course, our leaders change their policy) and, consequently, the question now is: will either side be prepared to relieve tension through war? On the positive side, the past developments have made it clear that the US does not want a big war... Fear of the USSR brought Hitler to power in Germany in the thirties. Today it has led to a situation where even French socialists vote for the armament of their arch-enemy, Germany; the stand taken on that matter by the far Right parties, with a largely peasant following, is more understandable; the French peasant would rather live under German occupation than in a kolkhoz...

Before the Hungarian uprising the likelihood of an active internal resistance to the Soviet regime had probably been precluded. Hungarians have shown that such resistance is possible. Now, after the December uprising in Moscow, which has also been suppressed, one can say: "Where struggle is possible, victory is possible, too." The developments in Poland confirm this idea. The dramatic events in Hungary compelled our leadership to make far-reaching concessions in Poland, and we know that in our own country, too, the Hungarian events have evoked a lively response from workers and students. The Stalinist system has become quite rickety over the past three years, and it is absurd of the Stalinists to claim that Stalinism has never existed at all.

Paradoxically, the events in Hungary have indeed heightened international tension but not compounded the immediate war danger. Needless to say, had it not been for the Soviet intervention, the war danger would have dwindled to a minimum, and the process of the relaxation of international tension would have made impressive headway. Judging by the Western press (as quoted by *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, I think), the USSR has been dangerous owing to its strength, and is no less dangerous now because it may seek through war the way out of the critical situation it has now found itself in... If Stalin had been younger and been in power longer, he would certainly have unleashed war in accordance with the ideas of the very Trotsky he had hated so intensely. One can, perhaps, vouch for the peaceableness of Khrushchev, Mikoyan, and Malenkov, but no one denies today, even abroad, that we have a collective rather than one-man leadership, and since Stalinists are coming to prevail now and would not admit even such mistakes as the disgraceful session of 1948, it is impossible to vouch for the peaceableness of our collective leadership. This is a huge question mark.

The epoch of empires and of great-power domination is coming to an end – the future will be the time of personal human freedom

To sum up: the Hungarian uprising is not a counterrevolution but a genuine popular and, what's more, progressive uprising despite the fact that quite a few counterrevolutionaries and simply bandits took advantage of it. Gheorghiu-Dej labels it counterrevolution because, you see, workers and peasants are in power in Hungary today, and the uprising could only have been started by the exploiting classes of old in an attempt to reestablish their rule. This is wrong. Power in Hungary, just as in the USSR, belongs to the new Stalinist class of party oligarchs, and the overthrow of this class is a progressive mission, even if it results in a certain temporary strengthening of capitalist elements. Was Lenin's "new economic policy," which amounted to the restoration of the capitalist sector, counterrevolutionary? Is the Chinese leadership's encouragement of state capitalism reactionary policy? On the other hand, intervention and the suppression of Hungarian workers and peasants are, indeed, counterrevolutionary acts...

The uprising in Hungary was the first staggering blow to Stalinism on the international scale, the important thing being that it was dealt not by capitalists, but by workers and progressive youth. There is no stopping the fight against Stalinism any longer. The likely prospects are that:

1) Stalinists will offer stubborn resistance which will not stave off the degradation of the country and the ultimate collapse of Stalinism;

2) the country will gradually change over to democracy and freedom: a political programme and a political plan are needed;

3) a Soviet General Monk will appear on the scene.

December 25, 1956, Ulianovsk

Soviet circus' imbroglio in South Africa

A 71-man group of Moscow circus actors was allowed by Soviet and South African authorities to give performances in the country once closed to artistes from the USSR. The tour was sponsored by the joint-stock company Moskovit. The actors arrived in Johannesburg with their properties and animals, and guest performances began. They received a warm welcome from the South African public. The African National Congress demanded, however, that the troupe should go away because the performances violated South Africa's international isolation and cultural boycott.

The Soviet actors objected by saying that the Ukrainian ice ballet and Georgian dance companies had just finished their tours of South Africa and that a Bolshoi ballerina danced on the main stage of the Pretoria theatre.

But the attempt to defend the Soviet actors' rights merely added fuel to the fire. The ANC presented an ultimatum: the troupe must leave the country within 24 hours. Appropriate "recommendations" were made to the hotel manager. Conciliatory talks with the participation of Soviet diplomats who had come to South Africa to set the stage for opening an embassy did not bring positive results.

The group offered to give several free of charge performances for black children and hold practical lessons to teach those who wish to learn the basic elements of circus art. But the offer was turned down. The main argument was that before going to South Africa the circus troupe had to get permission from the ANC.

They waited for the arrival of Moscow circus actors

Photo by the author

The situation was complicated by the fact that the ANC had called for the boycott of Soviet circus performances in Capetown, Durban, and other cities.

Common sense prevailed in the final analysis. Speaking at the Commonwealth summit in Zimbabwe's capital Harare, ANC president Nelson Mandela said he would welcome the lifting of sanctions against South Africa in the humanitarian fields. Such a decision was adopted. From now on there are no obstacles for the establishment of cultural ties and cooperation in the fields of education, health protection, tourism, and business.

Was is necessary to demonstrate an uncompromising stand on the question of applying sanctions a day before they were cancelled?

There is, however, another aspect of the problem. In the opinion of Iosif Kobzon, a people's deputy of the USSR and president of the joint-stock company Moskovit, the Soviet party is also to blame for what happened. He is sure that guest performances could have been organized in a different way by signing a contract that would take South Africa's political realities into account. In addition to the misunderstanding between the ANC and the circus management, complicated relations formed between the Soviet circus troupes.

"Our colleagues tried to frustrate our plans in every possible way," Iosif Kobzon explained. "South Africa is to be visited soon by another troupe, subordinate to the Soyuzgostsirk, until recently the monopoly system which exploited the circus art of the country. Two years ago we tried to break up this conservative organization. Several troupes joined our Moskovit company. The Soyuzgostsirk labelled us as 'an amateur cooperative' which has no right to use the 'Moscow Circus' trade mark. All members of our circus group live and work in Moscow and the company is called Moskovit (Muscovite). We had to appeal to lawyers and get confirmation from the minister of culture of the Russian Federation and the Moscow government. However, some of out countrymen are still trying to persuade South Africans that our troupe is not a real circus, that a real circus is expected to come later."

Nikolai Reshetnyak,
our own correspondent

PRETORIA

The Board of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs has confirmed the appointment of career diplomat and *NT* long time contributor **Igor Khalevinsky,** 47, as the head of the Consular Affairs Administration, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

By profession Igor Khalevinsky is an orientalist. After graduating from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations he defended his thesis on the economic development of Pakistan at the Institute of Oriental Studies, the USSR Academy of Sciences. He worked at the Soviet Embassy in that country for a long time and did several tours of duty there. Then he began to work for the UN. He was a senior counsellor of the Soviet Mission to the UN, a member of the UN Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, represented the Soviet Union in the Fifth Committee of the UN General Assembly that deals with administrative and budgetary questions and took part in many negotiations.

From 1988, Igor Khalevinsky worked as deputy head of the Consular Affairs Administration in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was given the most difficult row to hoe — the countries of Western Europe and America. Evidently, having realized that the sharp increase in the number of trips of Soviet people abroad and foreigners to the USSR made it impossible to work as before, he began to advocate the simplification of the Soviet Union's visa policy. Quite a lot has been accomplished over the last two years. This country has signed the Soviet-British memorandum on mutual understanding on the questions of issuance of visas, the agreement with Cyprus on visa-free trips with diplomatic passports, the memorandum on visa questions with Finland and the comprehensive visa agreement with Italy.

Those years have also seen the revival of the institution of an honorary consul that had always been widely used all over the world except in the Soviet Union. And at the Paris meeting of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension, the Soviet delegation proposed to convene a special conference on the humanization of the entire sphere of consular relations. Now Igor Khalevinsky will have to direct this process of humanization from the office of the Consular Affairs Administration.

* * *

The 42-year-old American scientist and public figure, **Yury Yarym-Agayev** (in the photograph he talks to President Reagan) believes that the democratic revolution that began in the Soviet Union should not develop only within the borders of the USSR. But the famous theory of Leo Trotsky about the export of socialist revolution has nothing to do with it. The point here is the establishment of a totally new type of cultural, economic, trade and scientific ties between Russia and Western countries, which previously, according to Yarym-Agayev, had been created under the careful control and supervision of the KGB and the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee. "The competent bodies" chose Western partners according to the principle of their loyalty to the communist regime. The professionalism and decency of those with whom they were establishing ties were not taken into consideration.

Yury was exiled from the USSR in 1980: after graduating from the Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology he joined the Moscow Helsinki Group. In the United States he continued his education in leading educational institutions there — Stanford University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Then he worked at the largest research centre in the field of telecommunications, Bell Laboratories.

The laurels for the opposition

The Nobel Peace Prize for 1991 has been awarded to the 46-year-old **Suu Kyi,** General Secretary of the National League for Democracy, the largest and most popular opposition party of Myanma (the former Burma) fighting against the ruling military regime. According to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, she has been given the prize for displaying tremendous courage and strong devotion to democracy.

Her father, the hero of Burma's national liberation movement, General Aung San, was killed by mercenaries when Suu Kyi was only two years old. In 1962 Suu Kyi moved to Delhi with her mother who was appointed Burma's Ambassador to India. Suu Kyi subsequently graduated from the University of Oxford, worked in the UN, and lived for a few years in Bhutan, India and Japan. She became engaged in political activity only in 1988 when she returned to Burma to her seriously ill mother at the very peak of the mass anti-government movement for the restoration of democracy and transition to civilian rule. The scope of the movement forced General Ne Win, who was at the head of the dictatorial regime, to resign. But the military again seized power. The State Law and Order Restoration Council that had been created by them gave Suu Kyi a choice: either she would leave the country or be put under home arrest. She opted for the latter. "The life of a politician does not attract me," said Suu Kyi then. "I would prefer to become a writer. But if I have devoted myself to the struggle, can I stop halfway?"

On July 20, 1989, the soldiers encircled her residence in Yangown. Since that time, practically all her contacts with the outside world have been cut. Her husband, the scientist-Tibetologist, Michael Aris, saw her for the last time almost two years ago (in January 1990). It is not known whether the news about the award of the Nobel Prize has reached Suu Kyi, although telegrammes of congratulations have been sent to Yangown from practically all over the world. The first secretary of the State Law and Order Restoration Council, Brigadier-General Khin Nyunt thinks, though, that home arrest is "a very mild punishment compared to Suu Kyi's crimes: the violation of the law and a direct confrontation putting in jeopardy the security of the state, peace, and stability in the country."

Those who know her well assert that this little frail lady with a soft and kind smile has inherited many of her father's traits — self-confidence, straightforwardness, and self-esteem.

Sergei Irodov,
our own correspondent
DELHI

In the mid-80's, Yury created in the United States the Centre for the Support of Democracy in the Soviet Union. Vladimir Bukovsky, Irina Ratushinskaya and Eduard Gudava have become the co-directors of the centre. The Yarym-Agayev Centre began to translate into English, publish and distribute the *Samizdat* magazine *Glasnost* created in the USSR by Sergei Grigoryants, and also developed programmes of independent exchange between the Soviet Union and the United States. Soon thereafter *Literaturnaya Gazeta* correspondent Iona Andronov and the left-wing US radical magazine *The Nation* reported that Yarym-Agayev was a CIA agent.

Four years later Yury came to Moscow on an invitation from Russia's Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, bringing with him a package of proposals. For example, an original idea to create independent systems of telecommunications that will make it possible for each intellectual or business centre to communicate independently with the world at large via a satellite antenna. This task can be solved by the Transcom International company founded by Yury.

* * *

The south of the US state of Florida has become the scene of a budding scandal that may cost many local politicians their careers. At least those of them whose names appear in the notebook of the state's deputy sheriff, Jeffrey Willets, who is suspended for the time being.

The deputy sheriff had written down these names not because he found out about some secret machinations or some not quite lawful political games. Rather, all of them had had a liaison with his 33-year-old wife, **Kathy Willets.** When his wife was amusing herself in the bedroom with the regular visitor – the price of the entertainment would vary from 50 to 150 dollars – her husband sat in the next room taking down the names of the clients and making occasional notes of their sexual merits and demerits.

The judge of the state has decided to make the list known to the public. At least 16 lawyers have protested against this decision. Meanwhile television showed an interview with the unusual couple. Kathy explains her numerous liaisons by nymphomania. According to her, she simply must go to bed with 8-10 men every day. When her husband is asked what he thinks about Kathy's behaviour, he usually says that he understands her problems. By the way, according to him, he stayed in the next room also only for her good: you never know what some politicians can do during sexual intercourse.

* * *

Western musicians prepare their "printed" dossier with the thoroughness of a diligent clerk. Without enthusiastic notices and photographs of performances in prestigeous halls one cannot get tempting offers, build a career and become a musician. The track record of **Vladimir Feltsman,** 39, who after a long interruption has at last performed on October 24 in the Moscow Conservatoire, includes notices by the most distinguished music critics from the United States, Germany, France, Japan, and Great Britain.

At 12, Vladimir, the son of the song-writer Oskar Feltsman, performed Beethoven with the Moscow Philarmonic Orchestra. At 13, his partner at the concert in the Small Hall of Moscow Conservatoire was Mstislav Rostropovich. In 1987, he was awarded the first prize at the international competition in Prague. In Paris, a few hours before his performance in the third round of the Jacques Thibaud and Marguerite Long International Contest, he fell in the subway and dislocated his arm. Doctors ordered him to stay away from the piano for a long time. But he played the Third Concert by Rakhmaninov and was awarded the Grand Prix. It should be noted that he had already had a somewhat similar incident: when he was 10, Vladimir played Kabalevsky in conservatoire while suffering from an attack of appendicitis.

In 1979, Vladimir and his wife applied for permission to leave the USSR – and at the drop of a hat all concert halls were closed to him. This situation has lasted for eight years. He survived thanks to his will and Donna Hartman, the wife of the US Ambassador to Moscow. She organized a musical salon in the Spaso House. The salon's brightest "star" was Vladimir Feltsman.

Having torn himself away from the embrace of his native country, Vladimir came to the West with a repertoire that would last any musician for his whole life.

He says about his past life: "I am very sorry that I left my native land, but my true native land – and the real native land for all artists if they have a gift of God – is a concert hall."

L. Goldin

They miss him in Soviet prisons

The member of the missionary and human rights organization East European Outrich. **Andrew Seilen,** 46, has been nicknamed by Soviet law enforcement officials the "Flying Dutchman." In the mid-70's Andrew began to tour the "socialist camp" studying the problems of emigration from the USSR and meeting Soviet "refuseniks." By some inconceivable means he managed to get inside prisons and camps and even shot a documentary film about them.

Seilen became interested in the fate of Yury Massover, a doctor from the Kashchenko Psychiatric Hospital who was sentenced in 1986: supposedly he diagnosed "diminished responsibility" for bribes when someone wanted to evade criminal responsibility. Yet many human rights defenders are convinced that he has been framed by the KGB to create an illusion of a clean-up in Soviet psychiatry that had a bad reputation.

After clearing a lot of bureaucratic hurdles, in January 1991 Andrew Seilen came to visit Yury in the Vyazniki prison and wrote in the West about his fate. But shortly after that Massover, who had deliberately opposed the prison administration, was transferred to a punishment cell and then to the Chistopol prison. It did not take the "Flying Dutchman" long to turn up at that facility, too, and in September he crossed the threshold of Yury's "new home."

"Massover was smiling and was filled with energy and enthusiasm," recounted Seilen. "Now his living conditions are much better than they were in the Vyazniki prison. They have permitted him to receive food in his cell. According to him, in the Vyazniki prison he was treated like an animal."

Andrew says that his last visit to the Soviet Union was less troublesome than usual. Although he continues to be surprised by Soviet reality, especially be the number of visa stamps Soviet officials made in his passport during his trips in the Soviet Union.

Varied approach to the "Iron Felix"

Vitaly Komar and Alexander Melamid propose affixing a bronze pigeon to crown the removed statue of the "Iron Felix"

In 1972 the painter-sculptors Vitaly Komar and Alexander Melamid, today naturalized Americans but earlier participants in underground exhibitions in Moscow, thought up the new art genre of Socart, which is the marriage of American pop art and socialist realism. This was pseudo-socialist realism playing a game with the Soviet system's sacred cows. However, the system accepted this not as social criticism, but as more or less innocent entertainment.

However, the two friends were quite serious. As a matter of fact, their meeting in 1963, when still students at the Stroganov Institute of Art, made them inclined to be serious, as they were introduced in the mortuary of the Physical Culture College.

Currently in the USA the two have five projects going. One is associated with their favourite American pop art, while another is for illustrating the Bible. They are also putting out a parody magazine, called *Death*, most likely a throwback to the Physical Culture College, and are sculpting basreliefs for the New York Courthouse building in the Bronx. But post-putsch developments have given them their latest idea.

"We were shown a list of monuments and statues that are to be demolished," Vitaly Komar says. "That's easy to do. There is a revolutionary ballad which speaks of building anew on the ruins of the old. However, that does not happen in reality, because when the old world is demolished, only a heap of ruins remains, which could be put to use as is suggested in Platonov's celebrated novel *The Foundation Pit*. What they wanted to do was to build a palace for everyone. But every day more and more people came and they had to alter the foundation pit. The bigger the building, the deeper the pit should be. Hence instead of going up, they dug deeper and deeper down into the dirt. The socialist ruins may very well prove to be a similar foundation pit."

The two are of the view that the monuments of the socialist chapter should be handled in the same manner as these two proponents of Socart treated agitprop stuff. All that needs to be done is to shift the emphasis, which will instantly transform these monuments and statues into a historical, ethical and aesthetic lesson. Stripped of their immediate function these statues will acquire many novel aspects. Take, for instance, the Dzerzhinsky monument. The toppled statue now lies on the ground outside the Tretyakov Gallery affiliate across the road from the Gorky Recreation Park.

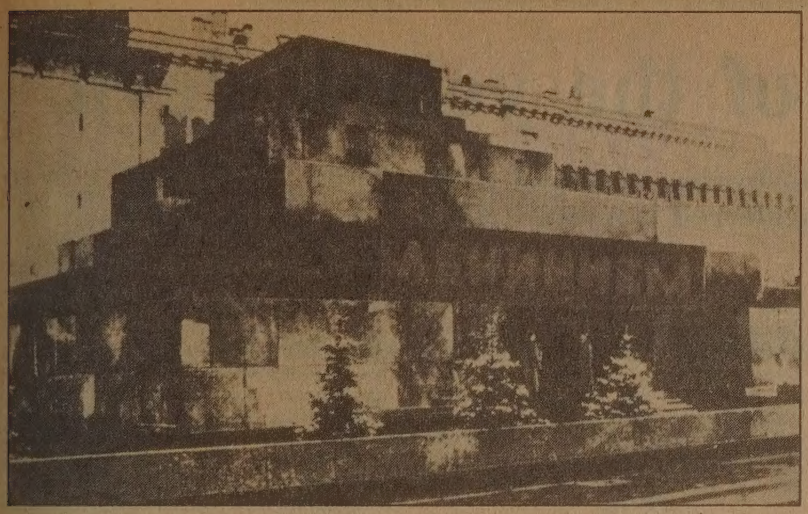
"That was a huge statue when still standing," Vitaly Komar notes, "but now it looks like a dwarf with a giant head. Its sculptor, Vuchetich, realizing that the statue would be viewed from below, made the head larger so as to have foreshortening reduce it to normal dimensions. But now that the entire affair lies on the ground, what you see is a huge head on a small body, or the reverse of foreshortening."

Komar and Melamid believe a similar effect could be produced with respect to the Marx monument, even without removing it to the statuary outside the Tretyakov Gallery affiliate.

"We ought to do to Marx what Marx did to Hegel, merely turn him on his head," Komar suggests. "That would be fantastic, unique. As is said 'The human race laughingly parts with its past!' and therein, I think, lies the gist of Socart, which blends the once prevalent social view with the modern individual's inner vision. Of course, when such opposites in form and content clash, you

Vitaly Komar, Alexander Melamid and Valentin Serov

Photo by V.Serov



A design of the Leninism Mausoleum

now and again get a parody, which, true, is but a spin-off because in the final analysis, rather intricate symbols are created."

The two believe much could be improvised with regard to the Dzerzhinsky monument. They suggest two versions. One is to cast bronze figures of the young people who climbed up on it to loop a cable around its neck and have these figures squat on the neck. They think that would generate a new symbol of the Revolution, though not of 1917, but of the close of the 20th century.

Another version is to cast bronze pigeons, as, after all, pigeons always alight on every monument and statue, and have them coloured blue, red and white, as befits the Russian tricolour.

"Generally speaking, if we were to solder or screw on or somehow attach to the crowns of some statues a bronze pigeon of the type that always perches on the head, this would present the statue in a totally new light," Komar comments.

Incidentally, Komar and Melamid were perhaps first to note that today the Russian and US flags display the identical colours of blue, red and white, which they think very important.

Nothing should be destroyed. History's continuity must be sustained. The more fanciful and exotic the mingling of historical epochs, the more singular and attractive the result. In 1984-85, Komar and Melamid produced the "Biography of Modern Man" series, executed in the Socart manner, but also infused with elements of other postmodern styles. These are several dozen terribly long multiple panels and polyptichs, all on the one and only subject of the Yalta Conference. In 1985 they had an exhibition in France.

"It was a lovely autumn," Komar recalls, "when Melamid and I had our exhibition in the Louvre's left wing, which was a real honour for us. We often used to go to the Louvre from our hotel past the statue of Joan of Arc. We noticed that the entire statue was covered with large, uneven splotches of gold. When we inquired why it could not be regilded and generally spruced up, we were told that the statue had been gilded at the expense of the Germans when France was under Nazi occupation. Though after the war many wanted the gilding rubbed off, the French, with their totally different sense of history, decided to rub it off only in parts. As a result this spotty statue speaks volumes."

If this country arrives at such an understanding of history's multilayered cake, then in Vitaly Komar's view new archeological layers could be deposited on top of the Stalin culture without doing away with the socialist realism of stagnation. That could bleed through, even extrude in spots and again hide behind other more intricate symbols.

Today, while not all monuments and statues have been removed to be irremediably lost to history, good care must be taken of them. This includes Lenin's Tomb, the Mausoleum.

"Our project for preserving the monuments of the socialist epoch also considers the Lenin Mausoleum," Vitaly Komar notes. "We think it a fascinating specimen of Art Salon Constructivism, with a hyperrealistic filling. To simply destroy it would be pure vandalism. It would be enough to add three letters to have it read 'Leninism' instead of the name, and the whole thing would acquire a totally different meaning."

Komar and Melamid suggest arranging in Moscow a competition of such proposals, and to institute a special council of mayors, critics, architects and artists, including some from the USA. Photographs of monuments slated for demolition could be preliminarily addressed to the world's more famous sculptors.

"Even if this were only a competition, it would yield a staggeringly fascinating exhibition!" Vitaly Komar believes. "Whereas if even some results were implemented, you can take it from me that Moscow would became as magnetic and unique a centre of History as Rome or Paris."

Vladimir Ryabsky

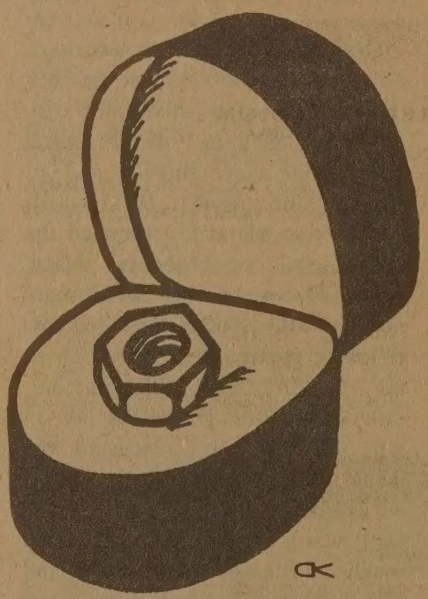
The party of the yellow devil

The founding fathers of Bolshevism despised gold, but Lenin's true disciples preferred to hoard it for a rainy day

Lenin used to say that in the event of the Victory of Communism gold would be used exclusively as the construction material for urinals in public lavatories. He was young and full of passion then and did not heed the warnings from wiser men who, unlike himself, did not study life by their own books only: don't tease the yellow devil. Cleverer people had tried to make life sour for him, but they all came to reget it later. The Bolsheviks did not heed the wise advice, believing that the ChK could recruit any devil to serve the world revolution. Any devil – perhaps, but not the yellow one. From the very first days of Soviet power so much devilry started going on around gold that militant atheism nearly had to be abolished and priests nearly had to be called in to exorcise the unholy forces from state institutions. The country used to be one of the richest in the world and its wealth was immense. After the revolution, though, all tsarist treasuries were nationalized, landlords and capitalists were robbed, their banks ransacked, the riches of the Church were melted down, new capitalists were forced to turn in their wealth at gunpoint. But when the Bolsheviks started their industrialization drive, it turned out that the state treasury was empty – the gold had vanished into thin air.

People had to be driven to poverty, locked up in the Gulag and kolkhozes where they worked getting not a copeck in return for almost seventy years. Trainloads of gold and diamonds were rolling from Yakutia, Magadan and the Kolyma, oil and timber were sold abroad for gold and it seemed that so much yellow metal had been accumulated that the CPSU could perfectly afford giving each proletarian a gold night pot, if not a urinal. But in the charmed Bolshevist state gold just doesn't pile up! In 1985 the Soviet gold reserve was 2.5 to 3.5 thousand tonnes. The annual production was at the level of 300 tonnes and at least until 1988 this country kept producing more gold than it sold. And here you are: recently Grigory Yavlinsky said the actual gold reserve of the Soviet Union was only 240 tonnes. Taking into account all, even the smallest expenditures, one can't understand where $ 25 to 30 billion worth of gold has vanished!

Another example. Germany gave this country DM 64 billion in the course of less than three years. Has anyone in the Soviet Union seen at least one Deutsche Mark from that amount? A devilish trick. The Soviet foreign debt is $ 77 billion. If there is a debt, this means that we must have been given money some time before – where did that money go? The situation is mystical. Comparing the world gold prices and the prices at which gold was sold by the Soviet Union in 1990–91, A.Portnov concluded that "the Soviet government had just given



80 tonnes of gold free to someone abroad." At the same time, the Soviet government, so generous to the foreign "someone," is begging the world for food to save the nation it has driven to the brink of famine.

Where do Soviet riches go? Some people have been mentioning German and French banks, others suspect the fourth dimension and still others give their preferences to the old-fashioned Swiss banks. From the practical point of view, there is not much difference between the three. It is no easier to get money back from Switzerland than from the fourth dimension. From this point of view it is much more interesting to trace the mysterious traffic of gold within the reach of the Soviet public prosecutors, the least corruptible public prosecutors in the whole world.

According to the scandal-mongers of the press, heaps of rings, ear-rings, necklaces, and pendants 8 kilos of rough and fine diamonds, 100 gold ingots, 40 million rubles, 2 million in hard currency, pictures by Leonardo da Vinci, Rubens, Van Dyck, Ayvazovsky worth a total of 5 to 6 billion rubles were discovered in the basement of the house occupied by one of the loyal sons of the CPSU, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Georgadze. Georgadze has never been a big boss in the CPSU, he has not even been a voting Central Committee member. Just imagine what can be found in the basements of his superiors' houses? And the poor Soviet *babushkas* are still wondering who needed their one-hundred ruble notes which they had saved to pay for their funerals, and which went up in smoke during the Valentin Pavlov monetary reform. The proletariat and the peasants cannot understand why Valentin Pavlov had to raise the prices by two, three ten times? Aren't those basements the destination of the foreign billions' mysterios journey? Lenin's dream has come true: incompetent leaders of the state and government clad in luxurious robes can enjoy sitting on gold levatory pans after exquisite breakfasts marvelling at the works of Rubens.

However, all the gold they have does not give them happiness. The party gold is not only soiled with the blood of the victims and the sweat of the robbed, but there must be some evil spell cast on it. Is there any other explanation for the sudden series of suicides committed by those who had been initiated into the secrets of the party gold? Some people say the apparatchiks killed themselves because they saw their ideals shattered. However, it seems strange that while the whole nation has lost its ideals, only appratchiks opt for suicide. There is something evil about it. Meanwhile, the party gold is wandering across the world and there may be new deaths among those who deal with it.

Functionaries of "fraternal" parties in countries as varied as Austria, Marocco, Uruguay, Panama, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Argentina and Burkina Faso have something to think about... Swiss, German and French bankers had better watch out, too. They can also fall innocent victims of the party gold which bears the devil's stigma and brings only corruption and death to those who possess it.

Comrades, let us forget about the ambitious plan of making urinals from gold. Although there is an obvious shortage of public lavatories in the country, other materials can be found with which to build them. Soviet rubles, for instance. This country has an unlimited amount of this cheap construction material!

Andrei Nuikin

Drawing by Sergei Kupria

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